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ALGIERS,
WITH
NOTICES OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES
OF
BARBARY.

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L O N D O N :
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
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ALGIERS,
WITH
NOTICES OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES
OF
BARBARY.

BY
PERCEVAL BARTON LORD.

Nor holy bell, nor pastoral bleat,
In former days within the vale;
Flapped in the bay the pirate's sheet;
Curses were on the gale;
Rich goods lay on the sand, and murdered men;
Pirate and wrecker kept their revels there.

DANA. *The Buccaneer*

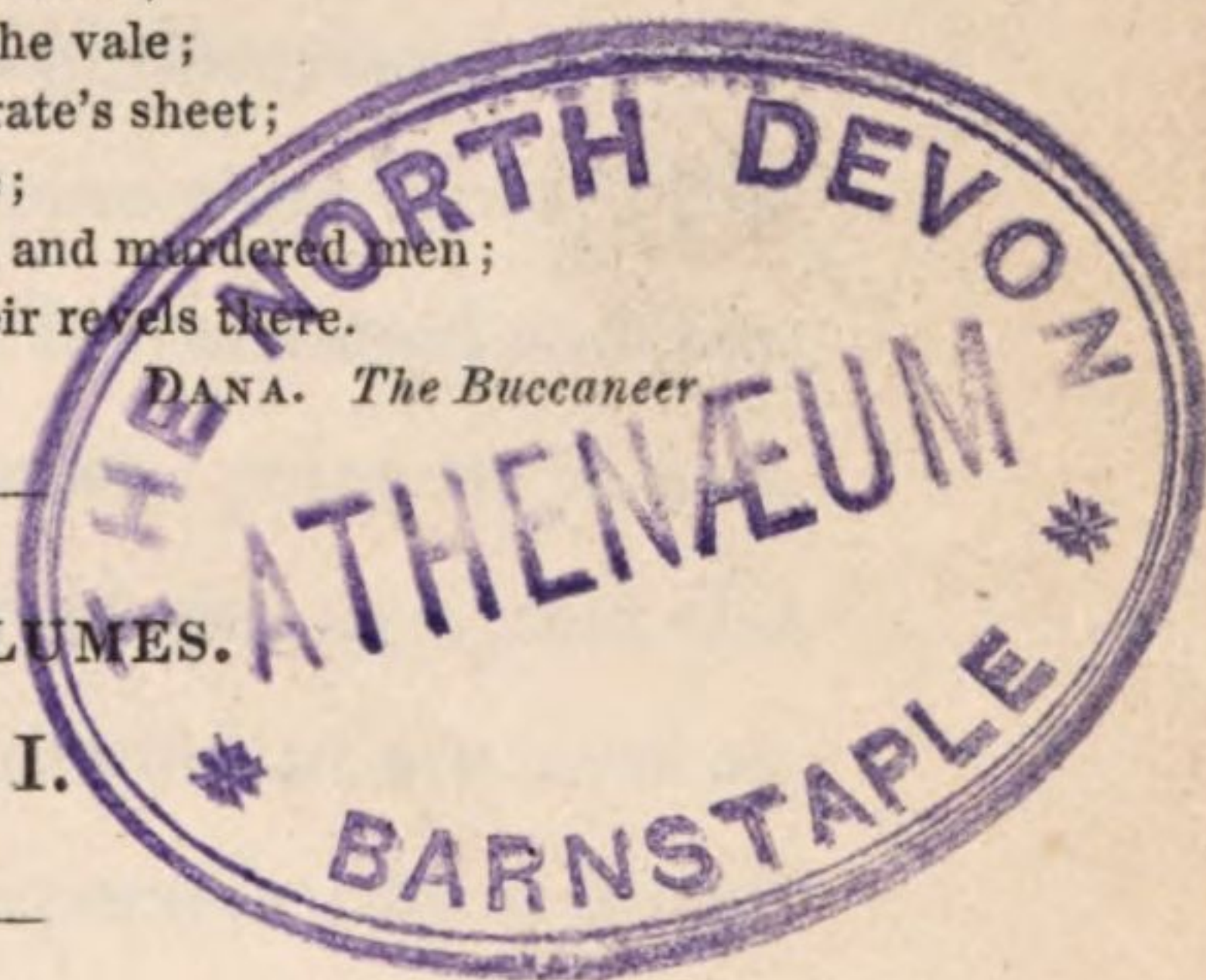
IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ALGERS

NOTES OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES

OF
TUNISIA
BARBARY.

B S B
MÜNCHEN

P R E F A C E.

NOT many years since the French occupation of Algiers would have excited in this country unmingled feelings of jealousy and hostility. In those days legislators could be found to talk gravely about “*natural* enemies,” and philosophers to doubt seriously “whether all foreigners were fools.” But the absurdities of nations may be corrected as those of individuals, and we may safely point to it as a sign of the progressing spirit of the age, that the narrow-minded views above alluded to are now no longer entertained, but are superseded by a liberal and enlightened desire to watch the working of that great problem in legislative science, which is to convert a barbarian race into a civilized people,

transform a nest of pirates into a seat of commerce, confine nomad hordes to fixed habitations, substitute agriculture for pasture, and, probably, the religion of the Bible for that of the Koran.

Such are the interesting questions involved in the attempt which the French are at present making to retain by the arts of peace what they have gained by force of arms on the north coast of Africa; and the two most important elements in the solution will necessarily be the character of the conquerors, and the character of the conquered.

Fully to develop the latter of these is the principal object of the present work, and with a view to this, the different races that inhabit the coasts of Barbary have been treated of in separate chapters, and every thing that could throw a light on their peculiar manners, customs, religion, trade, occupations, and mode of living, carefully collected. In this part of the work the greatest assistance has been derived from the accounts published by M. Rozet, a scientific officer attached to the late French expedition; but much additional matter has been gleaned from Lemprière, Windus, Ali Bey, De

Brisson, Shaw, Riley, Jardine, Curtis, Keatinge, Addison, Tully, and other authorities,—all of them original observers.

A Preliminary Sketch of the History of Algiers has been given, in preparing which, Chénier's *Récherches Historiques sur les Maures*, Laugier de Tassy's *Histoire d'Alger*, Morgan's *History of Algiers*, the *Expedition of the Mathurin Fathers to ransom Christian Captives*, Father Dan's *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires*, Marmol's *Afrique*, Mitchell's *Translation of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, Lyman's *American Diplomacy*, the *Annual Register*, and the *London Gazette*, have been chiefly relied on.

The geographical description is brief. Leo Africanus, Marmol, Shaw, and Rozet, have supplied materials.

Much pains have been expended on the chapter relating to the Natural History of the Region under consideration, and it is hoped that it will be found to convey correct and comprehensive views, in easy and familiar language. The principal authorities referred to on the subject are Poizet's *Voyage en*

Barbarie, Desfontaine's *Flora Atlantica*, Shaw's *Travels in Barbary and the Levant*, Jauffret's *Zoographie de Barbarie*, and the magnificent *Symbole Physicæ*, still, we believe, in course of publication at Berlin, under the joint names of Ehrenberg and Hemprich. The Appendices also to the works of Denham, Lyon, and other recent travellers in Northern Africa have afforded some useful information, principally as regards Botany and Geology.

The chapter which describes the French sway in Algiers, derives all its leading facts from their own authors, who will be found named in the proper place. On this subject two articles in the *Foreign Quarterly* and *Westminster Reviews* have been consulted with advantage.

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ALGIERS,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Aboriginal inhabitants—Medes, Persians, and Armenians—Romans—Vandals—Belisarius—Saracens—Irruption into Spain, and final expulsion—Barbarossa I—Barbarossa II—Oppression of the Christians—Expedition under Charles V—Hassan—Second expedition of Charles—Great disasters, and final defeat—Government changed at Algiers—Deys appointed—Town attacked by Sir Robert Mansel—Blake—French assault under Duquesne—Second assault by Duquesne—Treaty with England—Third French expedition under D'Estrées—New treaty with England—War with Spain—Expedition of Matherrine fathers to ransom captives—Spanish expedition under Castigon and O'Reilly—American negociation with Algiers—Singular compliment paid them—Fresh disputes—American expedition—Treaty—Last British expedition under Exmouth—Causes—Terms proposed—Bombardment—Terms granted—Fresh atrocities of the Pirates—Hussein Pacha's antipathy to the French—Insults their Consul, and fires on their flag—War in consequence—Army assembled at Toulon—Voyage and landing—Engagements with the Turks, and advance on Algiers—Investment and capture of the Emperor's fort—The town capitulates, and the Dey sails for Naples.

THE country now called Algiers, embracing ancient Numidia and part of Mauritania, was in former days wandered over rather than inhabited by a few rude shepherd tribes. They needed no fixed habi-

tation to shelter them from a climate always delightful; they required not to labour at agriculture, where fertile valleys and delicious plains yielded in richest abundance fruits for themselves and herbage for their flocks; they lived therefore an easy, tranquil life, free from the cares, and desiring not the luxuries of more civilized nations. But man, in this state, is little superior to the beasts that perish. His bodily wants, few and simple, are readily satisfied. To tend his herds, to drink of their milk, to drive them to fresh pastures or the cooling stream, to behold them grazing around him as he reclines beneath the shady branches of an ancient tree, or listen to the ravishing concerts of sweetest music poured forth by the little songsters of the grove,—such are the employments, and such the gratifications of the untutored savage. His noblest part, however, is neglected and uncultivated; the feelings may be touched, but the reason is not informed; the body may be fed and clothed, but the mind is left to hunger and thirst after knowledge; a blind admiration of the lovely scenes of nature may be excited, but it is not directed towards its truest end—adoration of that beneficent Being who created them all in their beauty and gladness, and, when He looked on the works of his hands, pronounced them all to be very good: yet the advance of a nation from ignorance to knowledge, from a state of na-

ture to a state of civilization, is not always made through paths of pleasantness. Difficulties are to be contended with, prejudices overcome; evil desires and the passions of guilty men, which before slumbered in obscurity, may be elicited and called into fierce and destructive action; the interested views of individuals may oppose the general good; the prevalence of a fanatical superstition may impede for a time all further progress; but if the nation can struggle through all these, how gloriously is it rewarded, by becoming enlightened, refined, intellectual, and christian.

Towards so desirable a consummation, the country of which we write has as yet made but few steps, and these have been constantly interfered with by a combination of almost all the causes above mentioned. Their effects will be best learned from a slight sketch of its history, or rather of the traditions received by its inhabitants as history, which, though probably incorrect in names and dates, may be relied upon as to the main facts.

The aboriginal inhabitants, whom we have described, were first broken in upon by the Medes, Persians, and Armenians, part of the immense army which had attended Hercules in his conquests as far as Spain, and had there been disbanded in consequence of his death. A short and easy sail brought those adventurers to the shore of Africa,

where they soon contracted marriages, and settled themselves amongst the possessors of the soil. The Persians, who had gone farther east, where the increased breadth of the Mediterranean rendered navigation difficult in their ill-made barks, turned their attention more to strengthening themselves by land; they occupied the hill-country of Numidia, built themselves forts and cities, and soon became a warlike, powerful, and flourishing people. The Medes and Armenians, on the contrary, spread themselves out in the champaign land, along the sea shore, reaching as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, or over the territories known by the general name of Mauritania, and being thus possessed of several sea ports, almost within sight of the opposite coast, availed themselves of these advantages, and laid the foundation of a pretty extensive commerce. For a long series of years both nations continued to grow in wealth and power, until at length they became so considerable as to attract the notice and excite the cupidity of the Romans, who, by their conquest of Carthage, had already gained a footing in their vicinity. In this conquest they had derived no slight assistance from Masinissa, one of the princes of the country; and a dispute between his grandchildren, Jugurtha, Adherbal, and Hiempsal, which they were called on to arbitrate, afforded them a pretext for advancing a large army, throw-

ing Jugurtha into prison, where he was starved to death, and repaying themselves for their trouble by seizing on part of his kingdom. Its final subjugation was reserved for Julius Cæsar, who attacked Juba for having sided with the party of Pompey, overthrew him in a decisive battle at Thapsas, and reduced all Numidia to the form of a Roman province, appointing as its first governor the celebrated historian Sallust, to whom we are indebted for the preceding particulars¹.

When the empire sunk beneath its own greatness, and the remote provinces were one by one withdrawing themselves from its sway, Africa also attempted to revolt, but too feeble to succeed without assistance, supplicated aid from the Vandals, who had already made themselves masters of Spain. This was readily promised, and (A. D. 428) Gentharc, one of their chiefs, passed over at the head of a formidable army, which soon overcame all opposition, and destroyed the feeble remains of Roman authority. But the unfortunate natives found that they had only changed their masters. In vain they expressed their gratitude to the barbarian hordes, assured them that they had derived the expected deliverance from their assistance, and begged of them in turn to withdraw; the country held out too many inducements to be lightly re-

¹ See Note 1.

signed by those who had once tasted of its pleasures, and felt themselves masters of its resources. With equal cruelty and barbarity these robber bands, having suppressed a slight insurrection made to expel them, proceeded to tyrannize over the inhabitants, ruin the cities, tear up the vines, and raze houses, so that, says the historian, "As much as this part of Africa had gladdened the eye by its riches and its prosperity, so much did it now sadden the heart by its desolate appearance."

From this dreadful thralldom they were delivered by Belisarius, the general of Justinian, under whom the Roman glory for a short time revived; but in the following century (about A. D. 697) they were finally reduced under the domination of the Arab warriors, who, under the name of Saracens, had already spread their victories and their faith through Egypt, and thence along the whole northern coast of Africa. From henceforth Algiers became Máhommedan, and has so continued to the present day. The extension of the Saracenic power into Spain, whither they were invited by Count Julian, who was willing to avenge his private injuries at the expense of his country's safety, has afforded matter for many a tale and many a romance, (none perhaps more beautiful than Southey's Roderick), but would lead us too far from our subject. Suffice it to say, that towards the close of the eleventh

century this power began to decay. The native Spanish princes invited their forces to make head united against the invaders, who had long held the richest and most beautiful parts of the country in subjection: Sancho the Great of Navarre particularly distinguished himself in the struggle, but it was not until 1492, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, that Spain found itself finally freed from all Mahommedan jurisdiction. The departure of the Mudajels, the last of those people who remained in Spain, took place, according to the Turkish historian, Hagi Khalifeh, during the reign of Charles V., in consequence of his issuing a proclamation, forbidding the public exercise of their religious rites. "The Moslems," says Khalifeh, "being able to endure this no longer, began to form themselves into societies, and at length convened a general meeting, and took up their position behind a mountain, whence they sent to beg assistance from Khair-ad-din, (Barbarossa II.), who immediately sent over thirty-six golettas. On their arrival they bravely withstood the troops that came out to prevent the embarkation of the Moslems. A thousand men were stationed on the field, whilst seven voyages were performed, and all the Moslems were then conveyed to the opposite shore, and delivered from the power of the infidels. On this occasion about twenty thousand Mudajels were

brought over, who settled in Algiers and other places. This is the reason why most of the Algerines are Andalusians."

But the Spaniards had too long groaned beneath the yoke to be satisfied merely by its removal. Reprizals were thought of, and revenge, so opposed to the true spirit and feelings of the religion they professed, was yet inculcated by its ministers as a sacred duty, when the object of it was the destruction of those who held a different faith. Ferdinand, excited by the counsels of Cardinal Ximenes, sent successive expeditions into Africa, one of which, headed by this aspiring and talented churchman in person, succeeded in taking the city of Oran, which a reference to our map will shew to be about one hundred and eighty miles west of Algiers, and gave his countrymen a firm footing in Africa. After many fruitless efforts to dislodge his unwelcome visitants, Selim, king of Algiers, at last entreated the assistance of the famous corsair, Oruj Reis, better known by his European name, Barbarossa, composed of two Italian words signifying *red beard*. Nothing could be more agreeable than such an invitation to this ambitious robber, who, elated by the number and hardihood of his naval exploits, had been for some time considering how he might best establish his power by land. Accordingly, attended by five thousand picked men, he entered

Algiers, made himself master of the town, assassinated Selim, and had himself proclaimed king in his stead; and thus was established that nest of pirates, fresh swarms from which never ceased to annoy Christian commerce and enslave Christian mariners, until its late final destruction, by the French expedition in the year 1830.

Barbarossa, however, did not want courage, talents, or audacity, to support himself in his ill-gotten sovereignty. He reduced Tunis beneath his sway, overthrew the king of Tremecen, and took possession of his dominions. Nor did he cease in his career, until Charles V. ordered Gomarez, governor of the Spanish settlement at Oran, to march with a large force against him, by whom he was defeated, and fell bravely fighting in the 44th year of his age, A. D. 1518.

His brother Khair-ad-din, whom he had left governor of Algiers during his absence, was appointed his successor by the general consent of the corsair captains, and, adopting the name of Barbarossa, vowed to revenge his death. Unable to make head against the whole of the Spanish empire, he concentrated his forces in Algiers, while he sent a special embassy to Selim, then Sultan at Constantinople, offering to become his tributary, on condition of receiving support. Selim accepted the offer, and sent him a guard of two thousand Janis-

saries, by means of whom he was enabled to repress the discontents of his Moorish subjects, and turn his attention to a renewal of his piratical expeditions; in which, in a short time, he became so famous, far exceeding his brother, and all that went before him, in daring and cruelty, that the Sultan, delighted with such a subject, loaded him with the highest honours, and made him Capitan Pasha of the whole Turkish fleet, considering him the only person capable of resisting the celebrated Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, from whom the Sultan's armaments had received much injury. Proud of the distinction thus obtained, Barbarossa set out for Constantinople, where, mingling the pliant arts of a courtier with the hardy roughness of a corsair, he gained the entire confidence both of the Sultan and his vizir. To them he disclosed a plan he had formed for getting possession of Tunis, which, on the death of his brother, had been restored by the Spaniards to its native princes; and, meeting with their approbation, succeeded on his return in carrying it into execution, and making this important addition to his dominions. Meantime, his corsairs continued to sweep the seas in all directions, so that no ship was safe, and commerce was almost at a stand. They had even become so bold as to make frequent descents on the coasts of Naples, Sicily, Genoa, and other places along the Mediterranean. Their

prisons were filled with Christian captives, of whom Barbarossa employed no less than thirty thousand in building the magnificent mole by which Algiers is connected with the little island opposite, and which makes it such a safe and admirable port. All Europe re-echoed to their groans; the Pope made liberal offers of indulgences, and plenary pardons to all who would undertake their deliverance, and promised immediate entrance into paradise to any who might fall in so praiseworthy an attempt. Muley-Hassan, too, the exiled king of Tunis, having in vain endeavoured to stir up the Moorish princes in his behalf, at last carried his solicitations and complaints to the throne of Charles V., who was at that time in the plenitude of his power, and felt himself called on, as the acknowledged head of Christendom, to make some attempt to relieve the woes under which she suffered. His late successes in Hungary had inspired him with a love for military glory, and he determined to head in person an expedition which was to crush this audacious pirate. The preparations were on a scale commensurate with the difficulty of the undertaking, and the greatness of the stake. From the Low Country came the German infantry, famous for their steadiness and perfect discipline; the galleys of Naples and Sicily brought the veteran bands of Italians and Spaniards who had distin-

guished themselves by so many victories over the French; the emperor himself embarked with the flower of his nobility and the pride of his chivalry, anxious to share the dangers and the fortunes of their sovereign; Andrea Doria led his own galleys, manned by the bravest, and conducted by the most skilful seamen of the age; the Portuguese, the Pope's dominions, and the knights of Malta, each furnished their quota, animated either by a remembrance of injuries, a love of conquest, or a desire to overthrow the enemies of their faith. Never had a more gallant band assembled, and each felt as though the success of the expedition, the welfare of his country, and the existence of his religion, depended on his individual exertions.

Barbarossa, on his side, was not idle. Aware of the impending storm, and foreseeing that it would first break on his new possession, Tunis, he prepared for its defence with equal vigour and prudence. He fortified and provisioned with great care the goletta, or castle, by which the town was commanded, and threw into it a garrison of six thousand of his bravest men, under the command of Seiran, a renegade Jew. He called in all his corsairs from their several cruises, drew from Algiers what troops could be spared, sent round to the Moorish princes, demanding aid against Charles, the enemy of their faith, and Muley-Hassan, whom

he denominated an apostate, and having thus raised a large body of troops, he himself took possession of Tunis, and awaited the approach of his formidable opponents.

He was not long kept in suspense. On the 16th of July, 1535, Charles embarked at Cagliari, in Sardinia, with more than thirty thousand regular troops, and after a prosperous navigation effected his landing, unopposed, within sight of Tunis. He immediately invested the goletta, which was battered at the same time by his artillery from the land and his ships of war from the sea. The garrison made many sallies, and behaved with the greatest fortitude; Seiran showed courage and ability, equal to the important situation with which he had been entrusted; but it was all in vain. The fortifications crumbled beneath the constant and heavy fire directed against them, and a general assault being ordered, the Germans, Spaniards, and Italians intentionally divided into separate bodies, and thus, urged by all the feelings of national emulation, pressed forward with an ardour that nothing could withstand: the fort was taken, but Seiran with the scanty remains of his band, retreated in good order over a shallow part of the bog towards the city. This was a severe blow, but Barbarossa refused to yield. The fortifications of Tunis were weak and straggling; the inhabitants knowing that their king

was in the Spanish camp, were ill disposed to defend the usurper, so that finding his forces by this time increased to fifty thousand, he thought it most advisable to leave the valley and offer battle to the invaders in the open field. Charles was not slow in accepting the challenge. Confident in the superiority of their numbers, and the fortune of their leader, the Moors and Arabs rushed in a wild, disorderly manner to the attack, while their scimitars gleamed and their shouts rent the air; but their confused onset made little impression on the Christian warriors, who, trained in a thousand fields of carnage, coolly maintained their ranks, repelled those undisciplined barbarians, and “foiled their wild rage with steady skill.”

In vain Barbarossa did all that courage could prompt, or prudence dictate; in vain he exposed his own person to every danger; attempted to rally his troops, and lead them once more to the attack; the shock had been too dreadful, the rout became general, and despite his threats, his prayers, his reproaches, and his entreaties, he was hurried along by the fugitives, and borne reluctantly on the tide that now set backwards towards the city. Here a new disaster awaited him. Ten thousand Christian slaves imprisoned within the walls of Tunis had taken this opportunity of gaining their freedom. Breaking the chains by which they had been bound,

and, bursting from their dungeons, they quickly made themselves masters of the city, and overpowering the small Turkish garrison left in the citadel, turned its cannon against their former oppressors. Thus assaulted on all sides, Barbarossa, with a few attendants, yielded to fate, and fled to Bona, while Charles, having sacked the city, and received the acknowledgments of the captives whom he had restored to freedom, found himself prevented by the tempestuous state of the weather, and a sickness which broke out amongst his troops, from pursuing up his successes. He re-established Muley-Hassan in his dominions, and having engaged him to receive a garrison, and pay a yearly tribute, returned to Spain; while his adversary, soon recovered from the effects of this expedition, which had engaged the attention of all Europe, and confirming his power at Algiers, entrusted the government there to one of his oldest corsairs, Hassan-Aga, while he himself was called away to fulfil his duties as admiral of the Ottoman fleet.

The Christians soon found that they had gained little by the change. Trained up under the banners of both the Barbarossas, Hassan equalled them in courage, while he exceeded them in ferocity. His enterprizes were marked by a spirit of audacity beyond any before exhibited; the coasts of Spain were kept in a state of such constant alarm, that

numerous military posts were obliged to be established to preserve the inhabitants from the invasion of the barbarians. Enraged at seeing his power thus set at nought, and his authority defied, Charles, though advanced in years, determined once more to make a descent on the enemy's coast, and again assembled a formidable armament. But fortune had this time deserted him. His preparations were not completed until late in the year (October 15, 1541). Doria, in the strongest terms, dissuaded him from embarking at a period when the weather was so uncertain, and when the success of the whole enterprize might be perilled, in approaching the dangerous coast of Algiers, by a sudden gale. The event showed how sage was the advice of this skilful mariner. Scarcely had the fleet put out to sea, when they encountered a violent tempest, and it was not until after undergoing many dangers and difficulties, that they succeeded in reaching Majorca, which had been appointed as the general rendezvous. The voyage thence to the coasts of Africa was equally long and hazardous. When they came within sight of land, the agitation of the waves and the fury of the tempest prevented their debarkation, which, however, was at length effected, during a favourable moment, within a few miles of Algiers.

It is impossible to depict the general conster-

nation and terror of the Algerines on the appearance of this powerful fleet and army. So little had they expected their arrival, that there was scarce one of their vessels in the port, and the great body of their army was scattered through the country engaged in collecting tribute. The town, too, was indifferently fortified, being merely surrounded by a wall without any outworks, and the whole garrison when mustered was found not to exceed eight hundred Turks, with about six thousand Moors, badly armed, half clothed, and undisciplined. With what reason then could they hope to resist an army as numerous and as well disciplined as that which had routed, a few years before, fifty thousand of their forces under Barbarossa? Hassan, however, who was himself in the city, did not despair. Having assembled his divan, it was resolved that they should offer no opposition to the landing of the Spaniards, being too feeble to meet them in the open field, but that they should content themselves with defending their walls, while messengers should be despatched in all directions to bring home some of their outlying troops with all possible rapidity. Meantime, the army of the emperor landed, and the standard of the cross was erected with great pomp to the sound of trumpets, cymbals, and kettle-drums. Not knowing exactly the state of affairs

in Algiers, and the extent of opposition which they might expect, their first care was to erect a fort on a hill opposite the town, at which they worked with indefatigable industry, day and night. Beneath the artillery of this fort they encamped, close by the springs by which the town was supplied, which they soon succeeded in diverting, so that the inhabitants were reduced to the water that was in their tanks. This it was calculated would soon become corrupt in so warm a climate, and that then it would cause some pestilential disorder. Having taken these preliminary steps, a herald was next despatched, inviting Hassan to surrender, informing him of the great power of the emperor, the impossibility of resistance, and assuring him not only of pardon but high honours and emoluments if he would at once capitulate, and return to his country and his religion, he having been formerly a Christian. To all this Hassan replied, "That a man who advised his enemy was a fool, but that the enemy who took his advice was a much greater," and so dismissed the herald. Charles immediately opened his fire on the city, and with such effect that the walls soon began to give way in many parts, and a general assault was contemplated. The inhabitants in despair crowded to the divan, which was daily assembled, and prayed them to capitulate

as the only means of escaping destruction. The divan, seeing the sad condition of affairs, were considering how they might make the best terms, when suddenly a complete alteration was wrought by one of those apparently insignificant agents occasionally employed by an overruling power to baffle all the calculations of human sagacity, and show that "the wisdom of man is but foolishness with God." A poor idiot, named Yussef, who was accustomed to wander about the streets half-naked, and had got some repute for sanctity amongst the lowest of the people, presented himself before the council while engaged in deep deliberation, and assuming the style and tone of a prophet, warned them against submitting to the infidel hosts who now beleaguered their walls, assuring them that before the close of that moon, a great and signal deliverance would be wrought, and that the Christian ships and army should be destroyed, and perish in their sight. It seems not improbable that this prophecy was a contrivance of Hassan, who knowing that his own life was at stake, and being in daily expectation of the advance of some of his own troops, was only anxious to prevail on the Algerines to hold out a few days longer. The result certainly answered this expectation. The multitude, looking on the whole as the undoubted result of inspiration, received the announcement with loud shouts, and,

considering themselves now under the special protection of heaven, prepared for a renewed and obstinate resistance. Meantime, there was much appearance that their expectations would not be disappointed. The tempestuous weather, which had ceased during the disembarkation of the troops, showed signs of returning. Dark clouds drifted heavily from the north; a close and almost suffocating atmosphere gave notice of the approaching storm, which towards night-fall burst forth in all its fury. The Spanish encampment, which had been formed upon the low grounds, was soon inundated by the torrents pouring from the neighbouring hills; the earth became so soaked with water that the soldiers in attempting to change their position sunk to the knees at every step; they were in a few minutes drenched to their skin, while their powder was all ruined, and the matchlocks and cannon rendered completely unserviceable. In this wretched state they spent the night, the wetness of the ground rendering it impossible for them to lie down, while the strength of the tempest made it difficult for them to maintain their footing, even when they assisted themselves by sticking their spears into the earth. Hassan was not slow in availing himself of the opportunity thus presented. With his own troops, who having been under shelter, were fresh and vigorous, he made

towards morning a desperate sally. The besiegers were so benumbed with cold that they could scarce stand to their arms. The first detachment with which he came up endeavoured to fly, and were butchered without mercy; the next showed more courage, but their match-locks would not go off, and their hands were so frozen that they could scarcely grasp their spears. The out-posts were thrown into confusion, a dreadful slaughter was perpetrated, and it was not until Charles himself had advanced at the head of his whole army that the sortie could be repulsed; and Hassan, gratified with the destruction of so many of his enemies, re-entered his walls to await the further issue of the storm.

Day dawned only to show the emperor the greatness of his losses. The tempest still raged in all its fury, and the Spanish navy containing all the baggage, provisions, and warlike stores of the army, was seen torn from its moorings, ship dashing against ship with horrible crash, others stranded on the beach, or borne by the waves against a rock, while their unhappy crews were either buried in the deep or murdered by bands of Arabs, if they succeeded in reaching the shore.

The storm at length fell, but the Spaniards were obliged to remain a second night cold, wet, and provisionless, in the most dreadful uncertainty

whether sufficient of their vessels had escaped to bear them back to Europe, or whether they should remain on the Algerine coast until enfeebled by hunger and privations of every description, they should fall an easy prey to the ferocious Hassan and his robber bands. On the morning of the second day, a messenger despatched in a bark by Doria, succeeded in reaching the shore. He informed the emperor that the admiral having stood out to sea had weathered this tempest, the most dreadful he had experienced during fifty years' service, and had succeeded in making Cape Matifuz, when, as the sky still continued lowering, he advised that the emperor with all his army should make what speed he could to join him, as no other means of safety remained. Under these melancholy circumstances the retreat was commenced, though Cape Matifuz was at a distance of four days' march, and the soldiers, ready to faint from hunger, seemed scarce able to move under their arms. There was, however, no alternative. The sick and wounded were placed in the centre, while those who seemed the strongest were distributed in the advance and rear-guard. The march was long and calamitous. Many, exhausted by their sufferings, fell and died by the way; others sunk from mere inanition; others were drowned in attempting to pass the torrents swollen by the late rains, or

were killed by the fire of the enemy, who, in wandering parties, hung round them in all directions, and never left them a moment's rest night or day. Roots, wild berries, and the flesh of a few horses which remained, and which the emperor had ordered to be killed and distributed amongst them, constituted their only support. At length, worn out, dejected, and reduced in number, they reached their fleet, and found rest and refreshment.

The exultation of the Algerines was unbounded, they now looked on themselves as the special favorites of heaven; the most powerful army which had ever attempted their subjection had returned with the loss of one-third of its members, a great part of its ships of war and transports, and the whole of its military stores, baggage, and ammunition. Prisoners had been taken in such abundance that, to show their worthlessness, they were publicly sold at an onion a head in the market of Algiers. For nearly a century after this, little occurs of note in their history, which is made up of injuries on their parts, reclamations from the European powers, and occasional attempts at repressing and punishing their violence, which, either from the insufficiency of the armaments or the incapacity of the commanders, generally failed. Towards the commencement of the seventeenth century, an important change was made in the government of Algiers. Hitherto, the

Pachas had been sent from Constantinople, and, knowing themselves to be appointed only during pleasure, and liable to revocation at the caprice of the Sultan or his favourites, generally occupied themselves in making the most of their uncertain tenure, and by multiplied imposts, monopolies, and extortions, had rendered the mass of the inhabitants so dissatisfied, that there was much danger of their altogether renouncing their connection with the Porte. To avoid this the Janissaries, or Turkish local militia, sent an embassy to the Sultan, informing him of the state in which affairs were, and offering that, if he would allow them for the future to elect a governor from amongst themselves, they would guarantee him in the continued receipt of the usual tribute, and pay him homage as head of the faithful. The proposal was readily accepted; the more so, that the Turkish exchequer had lately been drained by constant wars, and could ill afford the expense which would necessarily be entailed on it by an insurrection of the Moors and Arabs.

From this time forth the power of the Janissaries was considerably increased. Not only was the Dey, as their new governor was termed, always chosen from among their body, but his actions were constantly restrained and directed by the divan, a council composed of their officers, and to which every member of their body could hope for admis-

sion. The Dey, however, being now elected for life, and generally a native, or at least an inhabitant of the country, had not the same incentives to plunder his wretched subjects, while the general influence of the Janissaries acted as a check to a certain extent.

Though their internal administration was thus improved, their foreign policy, if we may give such a name to an indiscriminate series of robberies and piracies, remained unaltered. Vessels continued to be plundered, sea coasts to be ravaged, and Christians reduced to slavery. In consequence of this, attacks were made on them at different times by the Venetians, Spaniards, Dutch; and even an English fleet, under Sir Robert Mansel, came before the town and attempted to set fire to their ships in harbour, which attempt was unsuccessful, owing in a great measure to the timidity and irresolution of the British admiral.

A few years later (A. D. 1655), Blake avenged the honour of our flag, received submission and the restitution of many captives from the Dey of Algiers, and enforced it from the Dey of Tunis, who, in reply to his summons, had insolently desired him "to look at his castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost." The challenge was no sooner given than accepted. Blake entered the harbour, fired the ships, battered the castles to

ruins, freed the English captives, and sailed off, leaving the Dey to repent at leisure of his arrogant obstinacy.

The French were the next to attack these common enemies of Europe. The Duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, had already twice met with and overcome their corsairs, when Louis XIV. determined on sending a regular expedition to bombard the city. The proposal was made by Bernard Renau, a young officer of engineers, whose merit had attracted the notice of Colbert, by whom he had been recommended to the king. His suggestion was at first scouted as visionary by the old officers, who, accustomed to see bombs used only on land, asserted that a ship could never be made sufficiently firm to afford them a suitable support. Renau, without attempting to argue the matter, immediately set about building a bomb-ship at Havre, which he soon finished, and exhibited its sufficiency to the king at Dunkirk. It was then objected that the alterations made for this purpose had unfitted the vessel for venturing to sea; but a violent hurricane coming on, Renau, who happened at the time to be in his bark outside the roads of Dunkirk, remained in her the whole time, and escaped with impunity, though a bastion of the city was blown down, the dykes inundated, and ninety vessels lost on the coast. No further objection

could now be made, and orders were given (1682) that Renau should equip five such vessels, and join the squadron of Admiral Duquesne, who had the command of the expedition against Algiers, though he had given it as his opinion that it he had little probability of success. An accident in some measure verified his prediction, and would certainly have afforded Renau's enemies the means of working his ruin, had it not been at the same time the occasion of evincing his amazing coolness, courage, and skill. On taking up his position in front of the city, a grenade, which he was discharging, happened to set fire to his galley, which was filled with bombs and combustible matter, while the crew, seeing the rigging and sails in a blaze, threw themselves precipitately into the sea. The other galleys and the vessels of war believing that the deserted vessel was about to blow up, hastened to slip their cables, and remove from the danger. Meantime, one officer, wishing to assure himself whether any person remained, and whether all hope of safety was lost, compelled, with his drawn sword, his boat's crew to row him near the burning vessel: he climbed up its sides, and found Renau, with two other men, engaged in covering, with leather, eighty charged bombs which lay on the deck. The officer caused some boats to approach; two hundred men were thrown into the bomb-ship, and,

though it was exposed to the fire of three hundred well directed pieces of artillery from the city, they succeeded in saving it. The next day the bombships were laid in nearer shore, and during the night following continued to throw bombs into Algiers, where a number of inhabitants were buried beneath the ruins of their houses, whilst the greater part of them crowded in desperate confusion towards the gates of the city, and endeavoured by a speedy flight to escape a species of death so much the more dreaded as it was new. The Dey himself began to be terrified at the execution committed by these new engines of naval war; and the Divan was considering about the propriety of sending to request a cessation of hostilities, when an unfavourable wind arising compelled the French fleet to leave their enterprize half accomplished, and make all sail to reach Toulon.

Relieved from the terror of immediate destruction, the Algerines returned to their old ways, making descents on the coasts of Provence, where they committed the most dreadful ravages, killing, burning, and destroying all that came in their way. The Dey also recovered not only his courage but his humour, for, learning what a large sum the late expedition against his city had cost, he sent to say, “that if Louis would give him half the money he would undertake to burn his whole city to please

him." The French, therefore, determined that a repetition of the lesson would be useful, and a new expedition, under the same officers, was ordered early in the following year, May, 1783. Neither side had been idle in the intervening period. The Algerines had repaired their fortifications, recruited their troops, and placed the mole and haven in the best state of defence that the shortness of the time would permit. The French had increased the number of their bomb-ships, added new officers of artillery, and bombardiers; whilst Renau had invented a new kind of mortar, which threw bombs with increased force and accuracy.

Thus prepared, Duquesne again sailed, and in front of the city was joined by the Marquis D'Affranville, at the head of five other stout vessels. A council of war was held, and an immediate attack resolved on, in consequence of which, the vessels having taken up their stations, a hundred bombs were thrown into the town during that day, and as many more on the following night, when the town was observed to be on fire in several places; the Dey's palace, and other public buildings were in ruins; some of the batteries were dismounted, and several vessels sunk in the port. This speedy destruction soon determined the Dey and the Janisseries to sue for peace; and a message to this effect was sent to Duquesne, who consented to cease

firing, but refused to negotiate regarding terms, until all the captives taken fighting under the French flag were given up as a preliminary step. This was agreed to, and one hundred and forty-two prisoners immediately sent off; the rest, it was said, were distributed through different parts of the country, and should be brought in with all possible speed. Some delay, however, having occurred, the admiral, after a few days, sent in his commissary general to insist on the delivery of all the rest of the French captives, together with restitution of all that had been taken from the French, and furthermore requiring that, until these terms were fulfilled, Mezomorto, the Algerine admiral, and Hali Rais, one of their bravest captains, should be delivered up as hostages to him. No sooner had Mezomorto heard of these demands, than he rushed to the Divan, who were assembled to consider of them, reproached the Dey with cowardice and treachery, declared that he would never consent to give up any thing that had been taken from the French; and then, turning to the soldiery, harangued them with such effect, that, becoming infuriate at the supposed disgrace, they hurried to the palace, assassinated the Dey, and elected Mezomorto in his stead, who instantly cancelled all the articles of peace that had been agreed on, and ordered the bloody flag to be displayed on the city walls.

Hostilities were now renewed with greater fury than before; and the French admiral threw such volleys of bombs into the city, that in less than three days the greatest part of it was reduced to ashes, and the fire burnt with such vehemence that the bay was illuminated to the distance of two or three leagues. Undismayed, or rather rendered desperate, by the carnage made around him, Mezomorto ordered all the French captives who had been collected into the city to be cruelly murdered, and binding Father Vacher, the French resident, hand and foot, had him tied to a mortar, and fired off like a bomb against his own fleet. This wanton piece of ferocity so exasperated Duquesne, that, laying his ships as near land as possible, he continued his cannonade until he had destroyed all their shipping, fortifications, buildings, in short, almost the whole of the lower town, and about two thirds of the upper; when, finding nothing else which a naval force could do, and being unprovided for a land expedition, he stood out leisurely to sea, leaving the Algerines to reflect over the sad consequences of their own foolish obstinacy.

They were not slow in coming to their senses, and Mezomorto, finding that he was in danger of sharing the fate of his predecessor, suddenly disappeared, whilst the Divan, now free from his influence, at once sent an embassy to France, en-

treating pardon for their late unworthy conduct, but more especially for the atrocity committed on the French resident, which they disavowed, and endeavoured to attribute to the blind rage of the populace, rendered infuriate by the prodigious execution of the French bombs. Louis was pleased to admit these excuses, and some ships were despatched to bring off the remaining captives, who were at once delivered up. Amongst the persons thus released, says M. Renaudot, were some English, who, finding themselves on board, asserted that they had been set at liberty out of respect to the king of England. The captain of the French vessel then calling to him the Algerines, and re-landing the English, said, "These persons pretend not to be delivered but in the name of their own king: mine does not take the liberty of offering them his protection; it is your part to show what duty you owe to the king of England." It is scarce necessary to say that the unfortunate Englishmen were again cast into chains; but we cannot help feeling astonished that a French officer and gentleman can at the present day repeat this story, not only without condemnation, but even with seeming approbation of the conduct of his countryman. The English acted with much folly, but the Frenchman, who on that account restored his fellow-christians to Algerine slavery, was no less a barbarian than

those in whose hands he left them. We are willing to believe that neither nation would now be guilty of such heartless severity; we are willing to hope that all further contest between them may be a generous rivalry in social, intellectual, and moral improvement;—that the earnest end and object of both may be a nearer approach, in all their policy and modes of action, to the pure and elevated spirit of that religion which they both profess—a religion whose earliest message hymned by angel lips proclaimed “peace on earth,—good will towards men.”

The Algerines had been compelled by the destruction of their city to seek for peace, more particularly as the sublime Porte, being then in alliance with France, could not pretend to give them any countenance or assistance so long as open war lasted. They were well pleased, therefore, to have made a treaty, which they never intended to keep longer than suited their own interest and convenience, and which meantime enabled them to rebuild their city. During the continuation of this pacific disposition they concluded a treaty also with Sir William Soame, the British ambassador, who called there on his way to Constantinople, A. D. 1686. But with their strength returned also their piratical disposition; and we find a third French expedition despatched, under the command of Maréchal

D'Estrées, to bombard their town, within two short years after Sir William Soame's visit. In fact, being a nation little given to cultivating their internal resources, and living almost wholly by the prizes they make, a state of warfare is as desirable to them as a state of peace to other nations; and few of their ships being on the sea, except those expressly fitted up for war, while the ships of their antagonists are many of them merely laden with rich merchandize, it is clear that, even supposing some of their corsairs occasionally taken, the balance must still be very much in their favour. Under these circumstances, an enemy becomes more desirable to them than an ally, insomuch that, in 1716, the officers of the corsairs laid a formal complaint before the Divan of the scarcity of prizes in consequence of the Dey having formed an alliance with the English, French, and Dutch; and the Divan taking the matter into consideration, it was resolved, by a majority, that as the greatest number of ships on the ocean belonged to these three nations, war should be at once proclaimed on the Dutch, the least formidable, which was accordingly done by seizing one of their vessels that then happened to be in port, and sending round to the other Algerine harbours to do the same. Indeed, very little more indulgence was shown to England and France, though nominally still in alliance, as the appearance

of a well laden merchant vessel generally proved too strong a temptation for corsair honesty; so that our consul there had constant employment in making representations and complaints, to which Dey Ali at last openly replied, “It is all very true, but what would you have? the Algerines are a company of rogues, and I am their captain.”

To such people force was the only argument; and in the year 1700, their depredations having become very numerous, Captain Beach falling in with seven of their frigates, attacked them, drove them on shore, and there burned them. The result of this was, that they immediately set about renewing their treaty with England, and offered three new articles, to the effect that no Algerine vessels should cruize within sight of British harbours, that all British ships with passes should be safe, and that on occasion of any British man-of-war entering an Algerine port, an officer should be in constant attendance to see that all proper respect was paid to the flag, and that no injury or molestation was offered to any of the crew. This treaty was signed, on the part of England, by Captain Munden, R. N., and Robert Cole, Esq., our consul; on the part of Algiers, by Mustapha *Dey*, Ali *Pasha*, and Mustapha *Aga*, or commander of the Janissaries. This reminds us of a fact which we before omitted noticing, viz. that though the

Janissaries were permitted to choose their own Governor or Dey, who was invested with supreme power, yet the Sultan continued to send his Pasha, an officer who was supposed to be his representative, and to be engaged in looking after his tribute and general interest. It was easy to see that this separate jurisdiction and establishment of an independent power with foreign views and connections, must prove injurious to the state; and it had actually been productive of a long series of heart-burnings, discontents, and intrigues, the Pasha interfering in affairs that in no way concerned him, which the Janissaries were sure to resent, so that at length, to settle matters, Baba Ali, Dey, (1710), finding himself well settled in his government, arrested the Turkish Pasha, sent him on board a trading vessel going to Tunis, and threatened him with death if he ever again set his foot within the Algerine territories. To pacify the Sultan for this act of violence towards his Viceroy, he at once sent off ambassadors to the Porte, where, by distributing abundance of handsome presents to the Vizier, and other high officers at court, and then explaining all the evils and contentions that had been caused by the Pasha, he so far succeeded as to have the office abolished, or rather conferred on himself, so that henceforth there was no Turkish resident at the coast of Algiers, except on particular occasions,

when the Sultan sent a Capigi-Pasha, or envoy extraordinary, and in this state matters continued without any further alteration down to the recent conquest by the French.

An anecdote related by Tassy will show in what estimation the British were held at Algiers about this time. Mr. Thomas Thompson, then our consul, passing along the mole to the hall, where the captains of ships usually assembled, was met and rudely jostled by a young Moor, son of one of the wealthiest merchants of the city. On being asked why he behaved so improperly, and whether it was his intention to throw the consul over, the Moor, who appears to have been intoxicated, replied by calling Mr. Thompson "dog of a Christian," with many other opprobrious names; then springing suddenly upon him, threw him down, and, seizing him by the throat with much violence, clapped his knee against his breast. The captain of the port, who happened to be in sight, immediately called out, and ran towards them, upon which the Moor fled, not, however, before being recognized by the captain, who, having offered every assistance in his power to Mr. Thompson, and conducted him to the sea officers, who all expressed much concern at what had happened, went off and related the whole matter to the Dey, entreating at the same time that the young man's life might be spared out of

respect to his father, who, it was well known, would not have sanctioned such highly reprehensible conduct. To this the Dey, after some hesitation, consented; but as he had so lately renewed his treaty with England, and as it was still his interest that it should be observed, he determined on inflicting some very rigorous punishment, and, after a little consultation, the bastinado was agreed on. Mr. Thompson was now sent for, and the young man having been also taken and brought in, the Dey, sternly addressing him, said, "Thou villain, what hast thou done?"—"Done!" replied he, with much composure, "I have only beaten a Christian-dog for taking the wall of me, and giving me abusive language." Incensed at this cool insolence, the Dey, in a passion, asked him "Whether it was true that he had treated the English consul in the shameful manner complained of?" This he readily acknowledged, and, in turn, asked the Dey, "Was this all he was brought before him for?" at which the Dey was so exasperated that he ordered him two thousand two hundred bastinadoes; the first thousand of which were immediately given him, on the soles of his feet, with such dreadful effect as to strip them of all their skin, leaving it hanging by a small ligament, which Mehemed, the *cazenadar*, or Dey's treasurer, cut through with his knife. In this melancholy state he was presented to the Dey,

who, with an excess of cruelty, ordered him back to prison until the morrow, in order that he might a little recruit his strength, after which he was again brought out, and received the remaining one thousand two hundred bastinadoes on his posteriors, in consequence of which he lost both speech and sense, and, plunged into a dungeon, died soon after in the most dreadful agonies; a warning to others to avoid similar misconduct. The fate of this young man, whose punishment was certainly disproportionately great, is a striking proof of the danger of vesting power in the hands of a single person, freed from restraint, and guided by no fixed law. Similar outrages had doubtless been committed innumerable times with impunity, which a moderate punishment uniformly enforced would soon have terminated; but, by overlooking or neglecting this, matters had been suffered to run on so far that some decisive severity was necessary to prove an effectual check, and this severity was unquestionably increased to the highest in the present instance by the foolish petulance and insolence shown towards the Dey.

This century (the 18th) was, on the whole, not marked by so many circumstances of importance in the history of Algiers as the preceding. Oran was taken from the Spaniards in 1708, which,

however, they regained in 1737. An understanding also seems to have been come to with some of the European powers, that their captives might be redeemed at a certain price, an agreement of which they were, in many cases, glad to avail themselves. We have an account of an expedition to Algiers made with this view by some Mathurin-Trinitarian Fathers, a society of Monks formed for the express purpose of releasing all Christians from Mohammedan slavery. The narrative is drawn up by Philemon de la Motte, one of the persons employed in this pious mission, but with such an evident desire to obtain glory and money for his own order, that we derive little real information from it. They sailed in September, 1719, under the protection of M. Dusault, ambassador extraordinary from the king of France to the Dey of Algiers, charged with arranging certain matters of dispute which had lately occurred between the two nations. M. Dusault seems to have been successful in his mission, as were all the worthy fathers, having succeeded in buying about sixty Christians, and stealing a few more, with whom they returned to Marseilles, and thence advanced in a sort of triumphant procession with them all through France, collecting money the whole way in such abundance that Morgan, who translated the narrative into English,

expresses his wonder “ why no one had disputed with them the monopoly of so profitable and gainful a venture.”

Of all Christian powers, the Algerines most cordially hated the Spaniards, and the feeling was mutual; so that a constant succession of attacks, reprisals, assaults, and plunderings, had been committed by one nation upon the other; the whole result of which was, that Spanish prisoners groaned in Algerine chains, while Algerine corsairs worked in Spanish galleys, or on their fortifications and highways; a few at each side occasionally making their escape by some daring effort, which was always sure to be followed by increased severity to those who remained behind, accompanied not unfrequently by cruel tortures, or even death. At length, in the year 1775, the Spanish emperor, Charles III., de-King termined to put an end to this harassing warfare, which entailed constant misery on his subjects, particularly such as resided on the sea coast; and for this purpose ordered preparations to be made for a great and decisive blow, by which he hoped to give the whole states of Barbary such a lesson as would long incapacitate them from following up their piratical inclinations. His preparations for this purpose were, in fact, so extensive as to give no little anxiety to the other European powers, who feared that, under the pretence of Barbary, this

formidable expedition was really designed against some of them.

All Spain seemed to be in motion. The ports were all crowded and in action; transports of all nations collected; great bodies of troops arrived every day on the borders of the Mediterranean; and every kind of military machine for defence or destruction were plentifully stored on board the different fleets at Carthagená, Cadiz, and Barcelona. The transports were ballasted with bricks, which evidenced an intention of constructing fortifications and works; and a number of carpenters, smiths, bricklayers, and artificers, necessary for such a purpose, were accordingly shipped.

The whole force assembled at length at Carthagená, and is said to have consisted of seven sail of the line, of seventy-four guns each; eight of forty guns; thirty-two frigates, from twenty to thirty-six guns; and about twenty smaller armed vessels of different constructions; with four hundred transports, and nineteen thousand seamen and marines. On board this navy was an infantry of twenty-two thousand men, and four thousand cavalry, all composed of the most distinguished regiments and best troops in Spain, with a prodigious artillery, said to amount, in the whole, for the field and for battery, to four hundred pieces, worked by over two thousand men. This formidable force was provided with such

immense quantities of stores, provisions, and necessities, as seemed calculated for the establishment and support of a great and numerous colony. Several men-of-war were also equipped and in readiness in different ports, to support this armament in any emergency. The marine was commanded by Don Pedro Castejon, and the land forces by Count O'Reilly, who had for some time stood very high in estimation in the Spanish service, but to whose misconduct and incapacity the subsequent failure of all this great and mighty expedition was attributed. It seems, however, very unjust to lay all the blame on him, as many accidents, over which he could have no controul, contributed to this unhappy result. After being delayed nearly a month by contrary winds, the fleet at length set sail in the month of June, but were almost immediately dispersed by a storm, so that, on arriving within sight of Algiers, O'Reilly had to wait for several days, expecting that the lost vessels would rejoin him, by which he lost much time, and gave the Algerines time to recover their spirits, and improve their means of defence. At his first approach they had been much dispirited by the gallant appearance and complete equipment of the fleet sailing to attack their city; but when they saw it merely lying before their walls, appearing undecided what course to pursue, and not venturing on any decided action, they

began to look on it with indifference, and then to turn it into ridicule, declaring that it would prove to be nothing but an *espagnolade*, a word something similar to our *gasconade*, and by which they meant to express a vain-glorious threat that was never to be put in execution. The sixth day after their arrival, however, the Spaniards, wishing to show that they had really come to fight, sent in the Saint Joseph, one of their large vessels, to destroy a small battery, which was near the place at which they had determined on landing. This ship fired away for four hours without ever touching the object at which it aimed, though the bullets generally went much beyond it. Meantime, the battery was in so dilapidated a condition, and so unprovided with ammunition, that it was not until long after the first broadsides of the vessel that it appeared fit for action. Having at last mounted a few guns, the Moors who had charge of it fired a volley, the concussion of which proved too much for their own crumbling walls, so that they immediately came tumbling down with Moors, cannons, and cannoniers, rolling one over the other. Encouraged by this accident, which he attributed to his own agency, the commander of the Saint Joseph thundered away with redoubled zeal, but the Algerines, finding his noise very harmless, coolly replanted their guns on the solid foundations which now remained, and by a few

well-directed shots made such havoc amongst his crew that he was glad to sheer off about four o'clock in the afternoon, after having wasted much time, trouble, and powder to very little effect.

A landing was at last determined on, and effected without opposition, July 8th, between the mouth of the Carache and the seventh of the little forts that run along the sea shore. The time chosen was two o'clock, A. M., so that when the Algerines, who were all soundly asleep, and not even dreaming that their enemies would have so much courage, awoke, they were astonished to see ten or twelve thousand men drawn up in good order on the beach, within four miles of their city. They remained for some time, uncertain how to act, while the Spaniards seemed on their side in equal perplexity, neither availing themselves of the delay thus afforded to throw up entrenchments, nor, which would have been more advisable, advancing at once to carry the city by a *coup de main*. The besieged at length put an end to this hesitation, by pouring from their gates at about five o'clock, while a large body of Moors, which had been collected on the borders of the river, under the command of the Bey of Constantine, made demonstrations of attacking their left flank. The position of the Spaniards was at this moment excellent. They were drawn up in two columns facing towards the city, with their right flank resting on the sea,

and their numerous artillery in front. Between them and Algiers lay a level, open country along the shore, presenting a short and easy march, while the depth of the bay permitted their vessels of war to lie in so close as to command the whole route with their guns, thus protecting them in front and rear. This was soon evident, as the first body of Turks, who rushed towards them along this way, were all swept off by the guns of the ships before they had even reached their enemies. On the left of the Spaniards the ground gradually rose into a succession of low undulating hills, irregularly planted with trees, and covered below with a pretty thick underwood, or brush, extending almost up to the city. Close to their right was the little fortress of which we have spoken, and which, by some strange oversight, they neglected taking possession of, though at the time it contained no more than twelve men. Discouraged by the ill success of their first attempt at a direct attack, the Algerines now on leaving the city threw themselves into the brushwood, and, getting thus on the Spanish left, galled them by a constant irregular discharge of musquetry. In this they were joined by the Moors above mentioned; and thus the whole force of the enemy was concentrated on this point, while the road to the city was actually left open. In place of availing themselves of this advantage, and at

once dashing forward, disregarding the fire on their left, or answering it by their artillery and a few light corps, the Spaniards, with a fatuity for which there is no accounting, changed their whole front, faced to the left, or up towards the hills, and thus committed at once three egregious blunders, first, in spending their time in attempts to possess themselves of a country which it was no object to them to gain; second, in meeting the enemy on ground where discipline, cavalry, and artillery could be of little or no use; and, third, which perhaps was the worst of all, in masquing the fire of their own ships, by placing themselves in the direct line between it and the barbarians. The battle was thus reduced as it were to a number of irregular conflicts, the nature of the ground preventing any thing like combined operations. Both sides fought with all the enthusiasm of religious warfare, and all the animosity of personal hatred. The struggle was long and obstinate: towards the commencement of it the Constantine Moors had been driven back with great slaughter, and pursued to their encampment on the edge of the ruin; but the Algerines continuing to occupy the underwood, where they were in a great measure concealed, committed such havoc in the Spanish lines as soon attracted their attention that way, and gave the Moors time to rally. The firing was now, on the Spanish side, almost at

random, while their enemies, taking aim at leisure, soon thinned their ranks of many of their bravest officers. Confusion at length became universal: the want of some fixed plan, of some directing power, was every where felt, and the men, wearied by thirteen hours constant fighting under a burning sun, turned towards their ships, and the route became general. At this moment the Turks, seizing on the little fort, which had been hitherto neglected, broke down the walls on the side facing the Spaniards, and hastily turning that way its two guns, discharged them on the crowded fugitives with deadly effect. Even then O'Reilly made no attempt to possess himself of this fort, which would have protected the re-embarkation of his troops, so that the Turks continued to fire from it the greater part of the night, until, as next morning dawned, they found that there was no longer an enemy before them. The Spaniards, on their retreat, left behind them a great number of killed and wounded, fifteen brass cannon, two howitzers, a quantity of *chevaux de frise*, with ammunition, stores, &c., and cutting their cables set sail.

The Algerines, whose loss had been much more considerable, could scarce believe that an enemy, so formidable, and which, in one day's fighting, had killed or wounded between fifteen and twenty thousand of their best men, should so suddenly and

a true Spanish affair !!

unaccountably retire. They, therefore, remained in astonishment at their posts, suspecting some stratagem, and supposing the retreat was merely a feint; but their wonder and delight knew no bounds when they saw the enemy really standing out to sea with all the sail the ships could carry. By degrees they took courage, and ventured as far as the Spanish position. Here they found many dead, others dying of their wounds, and even some of the sick who had been landed in the train of the army, and left behind in their precipitate and shameful retreat. These they soon plundered and beheaded, and, carrying their heads to the Dey, received from him a reward of five sequins for each.

It may readily be supposed that such an expedition did very little towards inspiring the Algerines with any new respect for Christian powers. Spain, however, seemed not totally to have relinquished her projects. Fresh preparations were made, another invasion was talked of; the failure was attributed to the employment of a foreign general, to the weather, to the loss of some of their stores in landing, to the great number of men who became sick while lying in the bay, to the fleet not having stood in sufficiently near to support the army, in short, to any thing or every thing which could serve as an excuse or a shelter for their national vanity. However, nothing effectual was attempted, and the war be-

tween the two nations has since been confined to several severe engagements between Barbary cruizers and Spanish men-of-war, in which much damage was generally done on both sides; but the merchant vessels continued to be plundered, and their crews thrown into slavery as before.

During the long struggle at the early part of this century between the French and English, commerce, in consequence of Buonaparte's attempts to enforce a general blockade, was excessively diminished, insomuch that, few nations having merchant vessels at sea, little was heard of the piracies and atrocities of the Algerine corsairs. With the return of peace, in 1814, the seas were re-opened, and at the same time it became evident that these barbarians had lost none of their former dispositions by inaction. Their fleets, more active and numerous than ever, ploughed up the Mediterranean in every direction; the unfortunate inhabitants of the coasts of Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia, were daily exposed to the descents of those sea robbers, who plundered their property, and bore away to the bagnios of Algiers those who did not rescue themselves from slavery by a speedy flight. But a new power had now sprung up, from which this insolence was to receive its first check. This power was the United States of America. But to understand its relations with Algiers, we must go a

little back, and notice the mode in which these relations were commenced.

Nothing, indeed, can well be simpler. The States were scarcely freed from British rule, and established as an independent power, than the Dey, hearing that vessels had appeared on the ocean under a new flag, and seeming to carry on a thriving commerce, issued a declaration of war against them in 1785. The consequence was that some of their vessels were soon captured, and the crews added to the list of Christian slaves, which already embraced inhabitants of most European countries. The States were at that time almost struggling for existence, so that they could do nothing else than send two deputies, Messrs. Randall and Lamb, to treat for the ransom of their citizens, and endeavour to procure a treaty. To this latter proposal the Dey was quite deaf. "If," said he, "I make peace with every body, what shall I do with my corsairs? What shall I do with my soldiers? They would take off my head for the want of other prizes, not being able to live on their miserable allowance." To the other proposal, however, he paid all becoming attention, and, as a preliminary to business, had the politeness to inform the deputies that he was well acquainted with the exploits of their illustrious countryman, General Washington; and feeling a great admiration of his

conduct, and never expecting to see him, if Congress would do him the favour to send him a portrait of that celebrated person, he would hang it up in his palace at Algiers. This mark of sensibility, however, seems to have had no effect in moderating the price of the captives, the following valuation of which was by the Dey's order handed to Mr. Lamb. Its commercial accuracy, and the insertion of custom-house duty at the end, will show that in such matters the Dey was not a whit behind his more civilized neighbours.

Estimation of American Captives.

	Dollars.
For 3 captains, at 6,000 dollars each	18,000
2 mates, at 4,000 dollars each	8,000
2 passengers, at 4,000 dollars each ...	8,000
14 seamen, 1,400 dollars each	19,600
	53,600
For custom 11 per cent.....	5,896
TOTAL.....	59,496

As this amounted to an average of about 2,800 dollars a captive, the dismay of the poor deputies, who had come prepared to offer 200, may well be conceived. Unwilling to relinquish all hope of liberating their fellow-citizens, yet unable, in the impoverished state of the American treasury, to

come at all near the terms proposed, they felt themselves in a most disagreeable dilemma, from which they saw no means of escape, but by accepting the proffered intervention of the Mathurin Fathers, who still continued to have an establishment at Algiers, and had lately succeeded in purchasing some French captives at so low a rate as 500 dollars a head. Into their hands, therefore, the negotiation was committed; but they were so unskilful, or so dilatory in their proceedings, that the revolution in France put an end to their own revenues and order before any thing had been effected: so that the Americans still continued to languish in chains until the year 1792, when Washington, finding that there was no other resource, proposed to the Senate to buy a treaty with Algiers, allowing 40,000 dollars for their captives, now reduced to thirteen, together with 25,000 dollars as a present to the Dey on signing, and 25,000 dollars more yearly tribute. The proposal was revolting to national pride and honour, but it was the result of dire necessity, and the example of most European powers might be pleaded in extenuation. Still there was much repugnance to its acceptance, and even some efforts were made towards fitting out a fleet to protect their Mediterranean commerce and chastise the barbarians, when further delay was prevented, and all their scruples overcome, by

news that the corsairs had, in a single cruize, swept off ten of their vessels, so that, in November, 1793, the number of captives at Algiers had increased to a hundred and fifteen, of which only ten remained of the unfortunate men originally captured in 1785. Negotiations were at once set on foot; the Dey's demands had of course risen in proportion to the number of his prisoners, and the Americans had not only to pay ransom at a high rate, with presents, marine stores, and yearly tribute, but to build and present to the Dey, as a propitiatory offering, a thirty-six gun frigate; so that the whole expenses fell little short of a million of dollars, in return for which they obtained liberty for their captives, protection for their merchant vessels, and the right of free trade with Algiers. The treaty was signed September 5th, 1795; and from that time, up to 1812, the Dey continued on tolerably good terms with Congress; indeed, so highly was he pleased with them, in 1800, that he signified to the consul his intention of sending an ambassador to the Porte, with the customary presents, in the *Washington*, a small American frigate, at that time lying in the harbour of Algiers. In vain the consul and captain remonstrated, and represented that they had no authority to send the vessel on such a mission; they were silenced by the assurance that it was a particular honour conferred on them, which

the Dey had declined offering to any of the English vessels then in harbour, as he was rather angry with that nation. The Washington was obliged to be prepared for the service; the corsair flag, bearing the turbaned head of Ali, was run up to her main top, under a salute of seven guns; and in this respectable plight she sailed up the Mediterranean, dropped anchor before the seven towers, where, having landed her cargo, she was permitted to resume her own colours, and was thus the first vessel to hoist the American Union in the Thracian Bosphorus.

In 1812, however, the Dey, finding his funds at a low ebb, and receiving from all quarters reports that a wealthy American commerce was afloat, determined on trying them with a new war. He was peculiarly unfortunate in the time chosen, as the States, having about a month previously declared war with Great Britain, had, in fact, withdrawn most of the merchant ships from the sea, so that the only prize which fell into the hands of the Dey's cruizers was a small brig, with a crew of eleven persons. The time at length came for putting an end to these lawless depredations, and peace having been concluded with England, President Madison, in 1815, despatched an American squadron, under commodores Bainbridge and Decatur, with Mr. Shaler, as envoy, on board, to

demand full satisfaction for all injuries done to American subjects, the immediate release of such as were captives, the restitution of their property, with an assurance that no future violence should be offered, and also to negotiate the preliminaries of a treaty on terms of perfect equality, no proposal of tribute being at all admissible. The squadron reached its destination early in June, and, having captured an Algerine frigate and brig-of-war, suddenly appeared before Algiers, at a moment when all the cruizers were at sea, and delivered, for the consideration of the Divan, the terms on which they were commissioned to make peace, together with a letter from the President to the Dey. Confounded by the sudden and entirely unexpected appearance of this force, the Algerines agreed, on the 30th of June, to the proposals of a treaty, almost without discussion. Some difficulty having occurred in the execution of the stipulations, Mr. Shaler, who had taken up his residence as American consul, at once retired; on which occasion the Dey wrote the following letter to the President, which, though rather lengthy, we give entire (from the American Diplomatic Papers), as affording a curious specimen of Algerine notions respecting American government and independence, and as we are not aware that it has previously appeared in any English publication.

[*Translation.*]

“ With the aid and assistance of Divinity, and in the reign of our sovereign, the asylum of the world, powerful and great monarch, transactor of all good actions, the best of men, the shadow of God, director of good order, king of kings, supreme ruler of the world, emperor of the earth, emulator of Alexander the Great, possessor of great forces, sovereign of the two worlds and of the seas, Mahmoud Khan (may God end his life with prosperity, and his reign be everlasting and glorious), his humble and obedient servant, actual sovereign governor and chief of Algiers, submitted for ever to the orders of his Imperial Majesty’s noble throne, OMAR PASHA (may his government be happy and prosperous),

“ To his Majesty, the emperor of America, its adjacent and dependent provinces and coasts, and wherever his government may extend, our noble friend, the support of the kings of the nation of Jesus, the pillar of all Christian sovereigns, the most glorious amongst the princes, elected amongst many lords and nobles, the happy, the great, the amiable JAMES MADISON, emperor of America (may his reign be happy and glorious, and his life long and prosperous), wishing him long possession of the seal of his blessed throne, and long life and health, Amen. Hoping that your health is in good

state, I inform you that mine is excellent, thanks to the Supreme Being, constantly addressing my humble prayers to the Almighty for your felicity.

“ After many years have elapsed, you have at last sent a squadron, commanded by Admiral Decatur, your most humble servant, for the purpose of treating of peace with us. I received the letter, of which he was the bearer, and understood its contents; the enmity which was between us having been extinguished, you desired to make peace, as France and England has done. Immediately after the arrival of your squadron in our harbour, I sent my answer to your servant, the admiral, through the medium of the Swedish consul, whose proposals I was disposed to agree to, on condition that our frigate and sloop-of-war, taken by you, should be returned to us, and brought back to Algiers; on these conditions we would sign peace, according to your wishes and request. Our answer having thus been explained to your servant, the admiral, by the Swedish consul, he agreed to treat with us upon the above-mentioned conditions; but having afterwards insisted upon the liberation of all American citizens, as well as upon a certain sum of money for several merchant vessels made prizes of by us, and of other objects belonging to the Americans, we did not hesitate a moment to comply with his wishes, and in consequence of which we have

restored to the said admiral, your servant, all that he demanded from us. In the mean time, the said admiral having given his word to send back our two ships of war, and not having performed his promise, he has thus violated the faithful articles of peace, which were signed between us, and by so doing a new treaty must be made.

“ I inform you, therefore, that a treaty of peace having been signed between America and us, during the reign of Hassan Pasha, twenty years past, I propose to renew the said treaty on the same basis stipulated in it, and if you agree to it, our friendship will be solid and lasting.

“ I intended to be on higher terms of amity with our friends, the Americans, than ever before, being the first nation with whom I made peace; but as they have not been able to put into execution our present treaty, it appears necessary for us to treat on the above-mentioned conditions. We hope that, with the assistance of God, you will answer this, our letter, immediately after you shall have a perfect knowledge of its contents. If you agree, according to our request, to the conditions specified in the said treaty, please to send us an early answer. If, on the contrary, you are not satisfied with my propositions, you will act against the sacred duty of man, and against the laws of nations.

“ Requesting only that you will have the good-

ness to remove your consul as soon as possible, assuring you that it will be very agreeable to us, these are our last words to you, and we pray God to keep you in his holy guard.

“ Written in the year of the Hegira, 1231, the 20th day of the month Dge Mazirl Covel, corresponding to 1815, April 24th.

“ Signed in our well-beloved city of Algiers.

(Signed) “ OMAR,

“ Son of Mohammed, Conqueror and Great.”

As the conditions, to which the Dey refers in this letter, included the payment of tribute, they were of course rejected, and a treaty, founded on the American proposals, was finally concluded ; but not until Algiers had been humbled to the dust by the British bombardment, under Lord Exmouth, which took place the following year, 1816, and to which event we must next turn.

It had long been a reproach to Great Britain, the mistress of the sea, that she had tamely suffered a barbarian power to commit such atrocious ravages on the fleets and shores of the minor states, along the Mediterranean, without an attempt to control or reduce them within the limits prescribed in the ordinary wars of civilized nations. For many years she had been so fully engaged in overthrowing the ambitious projects, and repressing the encroaching

disposition manifested by the French, under their military emperor, that she had neither time nor strength to undertake any new enterprize; but now that, by the conclusion of a general peace in Europe, a further continuance of her mighty efforts in that direction was no longer required, it was determined that a fleet should be sent to Algiers, and the other states of Barbary, to obtain from them that the Ionian Isles, which were lately placed under our protection, should for the future be treated as British possessions; also, to mediate a peace for the kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples; and furthermore, if possible, to procure a general abolition of Christian slavery in Barbary. Instructions to this effect were issued to Lord Exmouth, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, and in consequence he sailed for Algiers (April, 1816), when the Dey readily consented to recognise the Ionian Isles; agreed also to make peace with Naples and Sardinia, on conditions of their ransoming their prisoners, which was not objected to, but declined any overtures for the abolition of the slavery of captives.

At Tunis and Tripoli, Lord Exmouth was more successful; the Beys of those places undertaking, by public declaration, that they would not for the future make slaves of prisoners taken in war, but would treat them according to the practice of

civilized European nations. He then returned to Algiers, and endeavoured to gain a similar promise from the Dey; but, after much negotiation, this was finally refused, on the pretext that, being a subject of the Ottoman Porte, the Dey could not consent to such a condition without obtaining permission from the Sultan, but that he would send an ambassador to Constantinople to procure it. As this did not seem unreasonable, though this sudden fit of submission to the Porte was evidently only a means of evasion, Lord Exmouth, to shorten the delay as much as possible, offered the *Tagus* frigate for the conveyance of the Algerine ambassador, which was accepted, and a definitive answer stipulated for within three months. Having thus, as he conceived, left every thing in a fair train for ultimate adjustment, he returned to England, where his report appeared so satisfactory that the fleet was ordered to be disbanded. Scarcely, however, had he left the shores of Algiers when a most wanton piece of cruelty was committed on a number of unarmed and unoffending fishermen, which had he known it would have given a far different complexion to his final negotiations with the Dey. At Bona, a few miles to the east of Algiers, was an establishment for carrying on a coral fishery, under the protection of the British flag, which, at the season, was frequented by a great number of

boats from the Corsican, Neapolitan, and other Italian ports. On the 23rd of May, the feast of Ascension, as the crews of all the boats were preparing to hear mass, a gun was fired from the castle, and at the same time appeared about two thousand, other accounts say four thousand, infantry and cavalry, consisting of Turks, Levanters, and Moors. A part of these troops proceeded towards the country, whilst another band advanced towards the river, where the fishing-boats were lying at different distances from the sea; and opening a fire upon the unfortunate fishermen, who were partly on board and partly on land, massacred almost the whole of them. They then seized the English flags, tore them in pieces, and, trampling them under foot, dragged them along the ground in triumph. The men who happened to be in the country saved themselves by flight, and declared that they saw the soldiers pillage the house of the British vice-consul, the magazines containing the provisions, and the coral that had been fished up. A few boats escaped, and brought the news to Genoa, whence it was transmitted by the Agent of Lloyd's in a Despatch, dated June 6th.

No sooner had the account of this atrocious slaughter reached England, than all ranks seemed inflamed with a desire that a great and signal punishment should be taken on this barbarian

prince, who was neither restrained by the feelings of humanity nor bound by treaties. An expedition, therefore, was fitted out with all speed at Portsmouth, and the command intrusted to Lord Exmouth, who, after some delays from contrary winds, finally sailed, July 28th, with a fleet complete in all points, consisting of his own ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, one hundred and twenty guns; the *Impregnable*, rear admiral Sir David Milne, ninety guns; the *Minden*, *Superb*, *Albion*, each seventy-four guns; the *Leander*, fifty guns, with four more frigates and brigs, bombs, fire-ships, and several smaller vessels, well supplied, in addition to the ordinary means of warfare, with Congreve rockets, and Shrapnell shells, the destructive powers of which had lately been abundantly proved on the continent. August 9, the fleet anchored at Gibraltar, and was there joined by the Dutch admiral, Van Cappillen, commanding five frigates and a corvette, who had been already at Algiers, endeavouring to deliver slaves: but being refused, and finding his force insufficient, had determined on joining himself with the English squadron, which it was understood was under weigh. Meanwhile, the *Prometheus*, Captain Dashwood, had been sent forward to Algiers to bring off the British consul and family; but could only succeed in getting his wife and daughter, who were obliged to make their escape, disguised in

midshipmen's uniform; for the Dey, having heard through some French papers of the British expedition, had seized the consul, Mr. Macdonnell, and put him in chains; and, hearing of the escape of his wife, immediately ordered the detention of two boats of the *Prometheus*, which happened to be in shore, and made slaves of the crews, amounting to eighteen men. This new outrage was reported to Lord Exmouth soon after leaving Gibraltar, and of course added not a little to his eagerness to reach Algiers. Foul winds, however, delayed him so much that it was not until August 27th, at an early hour in the morning, that he was able to come within sight of the city, when, finding himself becalmed at a distance of about four or five leagues from shore, he sent in his interpreter, Salamé, with Lieutenant Burgess, under a flag of truce, bearing a letter for the Dey, containing the following demands :

1. The abolition of Christian slavery.
2. The delivery of all Christian slaves in the kingdom of Algiers without ransom.
3. The restoration of all money that had been paid for the redemption of slaves by their majesties, the king of the two Sicilies, and the king of Sardinia.
4. Peace with his majesty the king of the Netherlands. And,

5. The immediate liberation of the British consul, and the two boats' crews of his majesty's ship the *Prometheus*.

The Dey had, as we have mentioned, received notice of the intended attack; and, according to Captain Dashwood's report, had omitted nothing necessary for his defence. Forty thousand men were brought down from the interior, all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and workmen incessantly employed in repairing and strengthening the mole, batteries, and general line of defence toward the water. The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar boats ready, with several more in forward repair.

As soon then as the boat, bearing the flag of truce, with the proposals, approached land, a boat was observed to put off to meet it, which was found to contain the captain of the port. To him Salamé delivered the letter for the Dey, accompanied by a written form, which he was to sign in case of acceptance, and requested an answer within an hour. The captain replied, that the time was too short, when Salamé declared they would wait two or even three hours, to which the captain answered, that two would be sufficient. It was then about half-past eleven o'clock, and the sun was intensely hot, but the crew declined the captain's invitation to land or go within the mole, and remained lying on their

oars within pistol-shot of the batteries, which they occupied themselves in surveying. They found them of amazing strength, and mounting in all about one thousand five hundred cannon, some of the very largest size. They also observed great activity of preparation going on within the mole, from which the Algerines were getting out the gun-boats, and ranging them, to the number of thirty-six or thirty-eight, where the guns of the fortification had least power, drawing them up in half a hollow square, while they were supported by nine frigates, lying in different directions.

Meantime, a light breeze sprung up, and the fleet advanced into the bay, and lay to, at about a mile off Algiers. "It was now," says Mr. Salamé, in his entertaining narrative, "half-past two, and no answer coming out, notwithstanding we had staid half an hour longer than our instructions, and the fleet being almost opposite the town, with a fine breeze, we thought proper, after having done our duty, to lose no more time, but to go on board, and inform his lordship of what had happened.

"Mr. Burgess, the flag-lieutenant, having agreed with me, we hoisted the signal, *that no answer had been given*, and began to row away towards the Queen Charlotte. After I had given our reports to the admiral, of our meeting the captain of the port, and our waiting there, &c., I was quite sur-

prised to see how his lordship was altered from what I left him in the morning; for I knew his manner was in general very mild, and now he seemed to me *all-fightful*, as a fierce lion, which had been chained in its cage, and was set at liberty. With all that, his lordship's answer to me was, '*Never mind, we shall see now;*' and at the same time he turned towards the officers, saying, '*Be ready,*' whereupon I saw every one with the match or the string of the lock in his hand, most anxiously expecting the word '*Fire!*'"

No sooner had Salamé returned, than his lordship made the signal to know whether all the ships were ready, which being answered in the affirmative, he directly turned the head of the Queen Charlotte towards shore, and, to the utter amazement of the Algerines, ran across all the batteries without firing or receiving a single shot, until he brought up within eighty yards of the south end of the mole, where he lashed her to the mainmast of an Algerine brig, which he had taken as his direction, and had then the pleasure of seeing all the rest of the fleet, including the Dutch frigates, taking up their assigned stations with the same precision and regularity. The position in which the Queen Charlotte was laid was so admirable that she was only exposed to the fire of three or four flanking guns, while her broadside swept the whole batteries, and completely

commanded the mole and marine, every part of which could be seen distinctly from her quarter-deck. Up to this moment not a shot had been fired, and the batteries were all crowded with spectators, gazing in astonishment at the quiet and regularity which prevailed through all the British ships, and the dangerous vicinity in which they placed themselves to such formidable means of defence. Lord Exmouth, therefore, began to conceive hopes that his demands would still be granted; but the delay, it appeared, was caused by the Algerines being completely unprepared for so very sudden an approach, insomuch that their guns were not shotted at the moment when the Queen Charlotte swept past them, and they were distinctly seen loading them as the other ships were coming into line. Anxious, if possible, to spare unnecessary effusion of blood, his lordship, standing on the quarter-deck, repeatedly waved his hat as a warning to the multitudes assembled on the mole to retire, but his signal was unheeded, and at a quarter before three in the afternoon the first gun was fired at the Queen Charlotte from the eastern battery, and two more at the Albion and Superb, which were following. “Then Lord Exmouth, having seen only *the smoke of the gun*, before the sound reached him, said, with great alacrity, ‘*That will do; fire, my fine fellows!*’ and I am sure that

before his lordship had finished these words, our broadside was given with great cheering, which was fired three times within five or six minutes; and at the same time the other ships did the same. This first fire was so terrible, that they say more than five hundred persons were killed and wounded by it. And I believe this, because there was a great crowd of people in every part, many of whom, after the first discharge, I saw running away, under the walls, like dogs, walking upon their feet and hands.

“ After the attack took place on both sides in this horrible manner, immediately the sky was darkened by the smoke, the sun completely eclipsed, and the horizon became dreary. Being exhausted by the heat of that powerful sun, to which I was exposed the whole day, and my ears being deafened by the roar of the guns, and finding myself in the dreadful danger of such a terrible engagement, in which I had never been before, I was quite at a loss, and like an astonished or stupid man, and did not know myself where I was. At last his lordship, having perceived my situation, said, ‘ You have done your duty, now go below.’ Upon which I began to descend from the quarter-deck, quite confounded and terrified, and not sure that I should reach the cock-pit alive; for it was most tremendous to hear the crashing of the shot, to see the wounded

men brought from one part, and the killed from the other; and especially, at such a time, to be found among the *English seamen!* and to witness their manners, their activity, their courage, and their cheerfulness during the battle!—it is really most overpowering and beyond imagination.”

The battle continued to rage furiously, and the havoc on both sides was very great. There were some awful moments, particularly when Algerine vessels so near our line were set on fire. The officers surrounding Lord Exmouth had been anxious for permission to make an attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about a hundred yards. He at length consented, and Major Gossett, of the corps of miners, eagerly entreated and obtained permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards in the ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and, in ten minutes, in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, although forbidden, was led by his too ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which attempt he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of the crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, escaped better, having but two killed.

About sunset the admiral received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, stating his severe loss in killed and wounded, amounting to one hundred and fifty, and requesting that, if possible, a frigate might be

sent him to take off some of the enemy's fire. The Glasgow accordingly was ordered to get under weigh, but the wind having been laid by the cannonade, she was obliged again to anchor, having obtained a rather more favourable position. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared to the full extent of their powers the honours and toils of this glorious day. It was by their fire that all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate already mentioned) were in flames, which, extending rapidly over the whole arsenal, gun-boats, and storehouses, exhibited a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest which no pen can describe. The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery, and, though directed over and across our own men-of-war, did not produce a single accident. To complete the confusion of the enemy, the admiral now ordered the explosion ship, which had been charged for the occasion, to be brought within the mole; but upon the representation of Sir David Milne that it would do him essential service, if made to

act on the battery in his front, it was towed to that spot, and blown up with tremendous effect.

This was almost the final blow;—the enemy's fire had for some time been very slack, and was now almost wholly ceased, except that occasionally a few shots and shells were discharged from the higher citadel, upon which the guns of the fleet could not be brought to bear. The admiral, who from the commencement had been in the hottest of the engagement, and had fired until his guns were so hot that they could, some of them, not be used again; now seeing that he had executed the most important part of his instructions, issued orders for drawing off the fleet. This was commenced in excellent order about ten at night, and the usual breeze having set off from shore favoured their manœuvre, so that, all hands being employed in warping and towing, the vessels were got safely into the bay, and anchored, beyond reach of shot, about two o'clock the next morning.

But Mr. Salamé had by this time returned from the cock-pit, so that we must now resume his entertaining and graphic narrative.

“ After the ships had hauled out, I went on the poop to see his lordship, and to observe the effect of our shot on the enemy's batteries, and to behold the destruction of their navy, which, at this time,

with the storehouses within the mole, was burning very rapidly. The blaze illuminated all the bay and the town, with the environs, almost as clear as in the day time, the view of which was really most awful and beautiful; nine frigates and a great number of gun-boats, with other vessels, being all in flames, and carried by the wind to different directions in the bay. I observed, with great surprise, how in these nine hours' time our shot had effected so horrible a destruction of their batteries; instead of walls I saw nothing but heaps of rubbish, and a number of people dragging the dead bodies out.

“ When I met his lordship on the poop, his voice was quite hoarse, and he had two slight wounds, one in the cheek, and the other in his leg. Before I paid him my respects, he said to me, with his usual gracious and mild manner, ‘ Well, my fine fellow, Salamé, what think you now?’ In reply I shook hands with his lordship, and said, ‘ My lord, I am extremely happy to see your lordship safe; and I am so much rejoiced with this glorious victory, that I am not able to express, in any terms, the degree of my happiness.’

“ It was, indeed, astonishing to see the coat of his lordship, how it was all cut up by musket balls and by grape; it was behind, as if a person had

taken a pair of scissors and cut it all to pieces. We were all surprised at the narrow escape of his lordship.

“ At one o'clock in the morning we anchored with all the fleet in the middle of the bay ; immediately after, Admiral Van Cappellen came on board ; and, after having paid his congratulations to his lordship, said, ‘ My lord, I am quite happy, if I die now, after having got full satisfaction from these pirates : and we owe a great deal to your lordship for your gallant position with the Queen Charlotte, which was the safety and protection of more than five hundred persons of our squadron.’

“ After we had anchored, his lordship, having ordered his steward in the morning to keep several dishes ready, gave a grand supper to the officers of the ship, and drank to the health of every brave man in the fleet. We also drank to his lordship's health, and then every body went to sleep almost like dead men.”

So signal and well contested a victory could not have been gained without a considerable loss and suffering. It amounted in the English fleet, to one hundred and twenty-eight men killed, and six hundred and ninety wounded ; in the Dutch squadron, to thirteen killed, and fifty-two wounded ; grand total, eight hundred and eighty-three. But the enemy suffered much more severely ; they are

computed to have lost, in killed and wounded, not less than between six and seven thousand, while attached to Lord Exmouth's despatch, from which we have already freely quoted, is the following:

“Memorandum of the Destruction in the Mole of Algiers, in the attack of the 27th August, 1816.

“Four large frigates, of forty-four guns. Five large corvettes, from twenty-four to thirty guns. All the gun and mortar-boats, except seven; thirty destroyed. Several merchant brigs and schooners. A great number of small vessels of various descriptions. All the pontoons, lighters, &c. Storehouses and arsenal, with all the timber, and various marine articles destroyed in part. A great many gun-carriages, mortar-beds, casks, and ships' stores of all descriptions.”

The morning after the battle, Lord Exmouth, feeling that he might now dictate his own terms, addressed the following letter to the Dey.

“His Britannic Majesty's ship Queen Charlotte.

“Algiers Bay, 28th August, 1816.

“SIR,

“For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince

Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

“As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace, which I conveyed to you yesterday in my Sovereign’s name; without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

“If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

“I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship-of-war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand, that the consul, and officers and men, may be sent off to me conformable to ancient treaties.

“I have, &c.

“EXMOUTH.”

At the same time that he despatched this letter, orders were given to the bomb-vessels to resume their situations, so that the bombardment, if neces-

sary, might be at once renewed. All further hostilities, however, were prevented by the Dey, after three hours' consideration, firing the three guns, directed as a signal of acceptance. Negotiations were immediately opened in form; and on the 30th August the admiral published a notification to the fleet, that all demands had been complied with, the British consul had been indemnified for his losses, and the Dey, in presence of all his officers, had made him a public apology for the insults offered him. On the 1st of September, Lord Exmouth had the pleasure of informing the secretary of the Admiralty, that all the slaves in the city of Algiers, and its immediate vicinity were embarked; as also 357,000 dollars for Naples, and 25,000 dollars for Sardinia.

The number of slaves thus released amounted to one thousand and eighty-three; of whom four hundred and seventy-one were Neapolitans, two hundred and thirty-six Sicilians, one hundred and seventy-three Romans, six Tuscans, one hundred and sixty-one Spaniards, one Portuguese, seven Greeks, twenty-eight Dutch, *and not one single Englishman*; yet will it be believed that a late French author, of much celebrity, accuses the British nation of being actuated in this expedition by motives of the merest *selfishness*, of totally disregarding the sufferings of other Christian nations, as long as

they themselves were unmolested, and of *intentionally* leaving a nest of pirates, which might afterwards subserve the infamous object of harassing the commerce of the other states of Europe! Men who can thus distort views, and misconstrue motives, deserve contempt, not refutation; and, as praise when undeserved is the severest censure, so, aspersions, destitute of foundation, and calumnies with not even the semblance of truth, must place the upright conduct of the assailed party in a still brighter and loftier situation. Were there an action more than another within this century, on which we would willingly risk the fame and honour of the English nation, it would be the capture of Algiers; which, undertaken solely at her own risk, and earned solely by the expenditure of her own blood and her own resources, rescued not a single subject of her own from the tyrant's grasp, while it freed more than a thousand belonging to the other European powers¹.

¹ In addition to those one thousand and eighty-three, there were five Spaniards afterwards brought by the Mutine from Oran to Gibraltar; and fifty slaves had been sent from Oran to Algiers previously to the Mutine's arrival, to be conveyed to their respective homes, through the medium of the British consul. All the slaves, therefore, amounted to one thousand one hundred and thirty-eight, besides those of Constantina and Bona, who were as they say seventy-three in number, making in the whole one thousand two hundred and eleven slaves. Besides these, there were released by Lord Exmouth, on his first visit to Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two slaves, making a grand total of three thousand and three helpless victims, restored from slavish durance to liberty.—*Salamé's Narrative*.

But an incidental circumstance that occurred after all submission had been paid to the British flag, and every thing that could be required for British feeling, or even British vanity, had been granted, places the fact of their absolute disinterestedness in so striking a point of view, that we do not wonder it should have been carefully omitted by the gentleman who endeavours to assail us with a charge of selfishness.

When the fleet were on the eve of departing, it came to the knowledge of Lord Exmouth that two Spaniards, the one a merchant, the other vice-consul of that nation, were still held by the Dey in rigid custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt. He instantly ordered an inquiry into the matter, when it appeared that the debt, said to be due by Don Heguiera, the vice-consul, was nothing more than the arbitrary order of the Dey, that the vice-consul should be made responsible for some money and jewels, which had been carried off by the sons of the late Bey of Oran, when they fled to Spain, to avoid being executed, as their father had been by Hagi Ali Pasha, predecessor of Omar, the present Dey. The money and jewels were furthermore their own property, so that the claim was totally inadmissible. The debt of Don Sebastiani Padrone, the merchant, appeared also of a very dubious nature, as it arose out of a contract which

he had been forced by the Algerine government to accept, and in the execution of which he found himself a loser to the amount of 80,000 dollars, for which sum he had been thrown into chains, and kept to hard labour. Lord Exmouth, therefore, thought himself authorised to demand the release of both these prisoners under the treaty; the first unconditionally, as, being a public functionary, he could neither be treated as a trader, nor, with any fairness, made responsible for the Dey's subjects choosing to run away with their own property; the second conditionally, that the claims made on him should be settled by commercial law. Meantime, that he himself should be given up, and that Lord Exmouth would become his guarantee to any amount which should appear legally due. These terms were refused by the Dey, who, keeping up the old national grudge against the Spaniards, thought more of gratifying this spleen than of the risk he ran in so doing. Lord Exmouth then sent to demand that the prisoners should at least be freed from irons, suffered to quit their dungeons, and placed in the custody of the Spanish consul, who would answer for them until the claims on them were finally disposed of. The peremptory refusal of this request likewise, was considered by his lordship as bringing to issue the question of the continuance or the total abolition of Christian

slavery, and he determined to decide it without delay. Vice-admiral Penrose was therefore despatched, with Salamé, to make a final demand, and require a positive answer, in the affirmative or negative, respecting the release of these two Spaniards, with the assurance that hostilities would be immediately recommenced in case of refusal. This firmness had the desired effect, and the sufferers were discharged from their long and severe captivity. The noble admiral, at his departure with his whole fleet, September 3d, was gratified with the heartfelt triumph that he had not left a single Christian prisoner behind him in Algiers.

“Such was the termination of an enterprize, than which perhaps no one more truly honourable to the British navy and nation is recorded in the kingdom’s annals. With an exertion of valour scarcely surpassed, it has exhibited an example of the rare moral merit, of national superiority, employed for no interested purpose, but purely for the general benefit of mankind, in putting down with a strong hand a system of rapacity and cruelty. With the generosity characteristic of Great Britain, she has performed this great public service entirely at her own expense; abandoning even the restitutions which her arms compelled to the sufferers; bargaining for no salvage or indemnity, but freely imparting what she gloriously gained.”

Such are the concluding observations of our annalist. We are anxious to place them in opposition to those of the French historian, and allow any impartial person to say which is the fairer induction from the facts stated. But however great the temporary good achieved by British arms, in restoring to liberty the many Christian slaves, who had long languished in chains, or pined in dungeons, deprived of all that makes life lovely or desirable, it soon became evident that the evil had been repressed,—not exterminated,—that the disposition still remained, though the power to strike was considerably diminished. “There can be no reasonable objection,” says Lynam, “to an occasional bombardment of a pirate town; it is a good drill for a rusty navy. But the only radical effectual cure of this monstrous, disgraceful evil, is in the foundation of colonies with European habits of life and commerce along the Barbary coast. The country is rich and fertile, with a temperate climate, and in every respect seems as capable of furnishing materials for opulent and populous cities as regions farther situated to the east on the same continent.” The French are at present engaged in making the experiment.

In August, 1816, the strength of Algiers seemed annihilated; her walls were in ruins, her haughty flag was humbled to the dust; her gates lay open

to a hostile power, and terms were dictated in the palace of her princes. A year passed, the hostile squadron had left her ports, the clang of the workman's hammer, the hum of busy men resounded through her streets, fresh walls had risen, new and more formidable batteries had been added; again she resumed her attitude as of yore, bid defiance to her foes, and declared war on civilization:—again her blood-stained corsairs swept the seas, eager for plunder, ready for combat;—Christian commerce once more became shackled by her enterprize, and Christian captives once more sent up their cry for deliverance. In 1819, her piracies had become so numerous that the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle caused it to be notified to the Dey by a combined French and English squadron, that their cessation was required, and would be enforced. His reply was brief and arrogant, and the admirals were obliged to leave without obtaining the least satisfaction. By menaces, however, accompanied by the presence of some cruizers, England, France, and the United States caused their flags to be respected.

Ali, the successor of Omar, had died in 1818, and was succeeded by Hassein Pasha, who, from the commencement of his reign, evinced the strongest antipathy to the French power. In 1824, he imposed an arbitrary tax through all his provinces on

French goods and manufactures; the consul's house was frequently entered and searched in a vexatious manner, contrary to the express stipulations of treaties; and, finally, April, 1827, the consul himself, having gone at the feast of Bayram to pay his respects, was, upon a slight difference of opinion arising during their conversation, struck across the mouth with a fly-flap which the Dey held in his hand, and in consequence soon after left Algiers, while the Dey ordered the destruction of all the French establishments along the coast towards Bona, and oppressed in every manner the French residents within his dominions. A blockade was instantly commenced by the French, and maintained for nearly three years, until it was found that they suffered much more by it than the Dey, the expense having reached nearly £800,000 sterling, while he appeared no way inconvenienced by their efforts, and even treated them with such contempt as to order his forts to fire on the vessel of Admiral De la Bretonnière, who, in 1829, had gone there under a flag of truce to make a final proposal of terms of accommodation. So signal a violation of the laws of nations could not be overlooked, even by the imbecile administration of Charles X. All France was in an uproar; the national flag had been dishonoured, and her ambassador insulted; the cry for war became loud and universal; conferences

on the subject were held; the oldest soldiers and most experienced mariners were invited by the minister at war to assist in his deliberations; and an expedition was finally determined on in the month of February, 1830, to consist of about thirty-seven thousand men, a number which it was calculated would not only be sufficient to overcome all opposition which might be encountered, but to enable the French to reduce the kingdom to a province, and retain it in subjection for any length of time that might be considered advisable. No sooner was this decision promulgated, than all the necessary preparations were commenced with the utmost diligence. It was now February, and the expedition was to embark by the end of April, so that no time could be lost. The arsenals, the naval and military workshops, were all in full employment. Field and breaching batteries were mounted on a new principle lately adopted; gabions, earth-bags, *chevaux-de-frise*, and projectiles were made in the greatest abundance; maps, notes, and all the information that could be procured respecting Barbary were transmitted to the war office, where their contents were compared and digested, and a plan of operations was drawn out. The commissariat were busied in collecting provisions, waggons, and fitting out an efficient hospital train; a deputy-commissary was despatched to reconnoitre the coasts

of Spain and the Balearic Islands, to ascertain what resources could be drawn from them, and negotiate with the king for leave to establish military hospitals at Port Mahon. Eighteen regiments of the line, three squadrons of cavalry, and different corps of artillery and engineers were ordered to hold themselves in readiness; four hundred transports were assembled, and chartered by government in the port of Marseilles, while the vessels of war, which were to form the convoy, were appointed their rendezvous in the neighbouring harbour of Toulon. After some hesitation as to who should command this important expedition, the Count de Bourmont, then minister at war, thought fit to appoint himself; and his *etat-major* was soon complete, Desprez acting as chief, and Tholozé as second in command. Maubert de Neuilly was chosen provost-marshal, De Bartillat (who afterwards wrote an entertaining account of the expedition) quarter-master general, and De Carné commissary-general to the forces. In addition to these, there were about twenty aid-de-camps, orderlies, and young men of rank attached to the staff, together with a Spanish general, an English colonel, a Russian colonel and lieutenant, and two Saxon officers, deputed by their respective governments. There were also a section of engineer-geographers, whose business was to survey and map

the country as it was conquered, “and,” says M. Rozet, who was himself employed in the service we have just mentioned, and to whose excellent work, written in that capacity, we are so much indebted, “twenty-four interpreters, the half of whom knew neither French nor Arabic, were attached to the different corps of the army, in order to facilitate their intercourse with the inhabitants.” As the minister had determined on risking his own reputation on the expedition, the supplies were all, of course, of the completest kind, and in the greatest abundance. Provisions for three months were ordered; an equal quantity was to be forwarded as soon as the army had landed in Africa; and amongst the other materials furnished we observe, in looking over the returns, thirty wooden legs, and two hundred crutches, for the relief of unfortunate heroes, a boring apparatus to sink pumps, if water should run short, and a balloon, with two æronauts, to reconnoitre the enemy’s position, in case, as was represented to be their wont, they should entrench themselves under the shelter of hedges and brushwood.

All was in readiness at the appointed time: the regiments had reached their several destinations in the immediate vicinity of Toulon by the 20th April; on the 27th the general arrived; on the 3rd May the Duke d’Angoulême, dauphine and high admiral

of France, came to review the army previous to its embarkation, accompanied by the Duke de Guich,^e and M. le Baron d'Haussez, who has since gained himself no very enviable notoriety, by an attempt at a description of British manners; he was then minister of marine, though, as M. Rozet quietly remarks, he was "a better horseman than sailor." The review took place on the 5th, the embarkation was commenced on the 11th, and terminated on the 17th. A further delay, however, still occurred; the wind continued to blow obstinately from the south for more than a week, so that the men were kept cooped up in the ships in a state of perfect inaction; nor was it until the 25th of May that the wind veered round to the north-west, when the signal for sailing was given, and before nightfall the whole fleet had cleared the harbour, and were standing out to sea, under a light breeze at the easy rate of about three knots an hour. The wind continued fair, so that on the 28th they had a view of Majorca, where it was originally intended they should have rendezvoused; but the admiral, Duperre, seemed to have changed this plan, for, without even turning towards land, they held on their way straight towards Algiers. The soldiers were in high spirits to find themselves advancing "with a wet sheet and flowing sail" towards the end of their voyage, when on the morning of the 30th, just as they were

coming within sight of land, a signal from the flagship suddenly obliged them to veer round, and they were kept, from the 2d to the 10th of June, idly lagging in Palmer Bay, with no better employment than counting the porpoises that gambolled awkwardly around them, or relating anecdotes of adventures during the last Spanish war, which was recalled to their recollection by the vicinity of the little island of Cabrera, that had served as a prison and a grave to so many of their brave countrymen. At length the voyage was renewed; an order of the day was published, exhorting the soldiers not to be terrified with the thousands of camels which, it said, the Arab horsemen drive before them to cover their front, and on the 13th the whole fleet were sailing in full view of the city of Algiers, at a distance of not more than two leagues. It formed, however, no part of their plan to approach it for the purpose of debarkation; this would have been rendered almost impossible by the new works erected since Lord Exmouth's bombardment, on which they plainly saw the bristling rows of cannon, together with the artillerymen waiting their nearer advance; they, therefore, sailed by this, directing their course to the west, and quietly effected a landing on the Peninsula of Sidy-el-Ferruch, where they merely found a dismantled battery, and a few wandering Arabs, who, after

caracolling a little on their horses, disappeared amongst the brushwood, with which the face of the country seemed covered, and, getting possession of two forts some distance inland, sent a few ill-directed and useless shots towards the divisions of the French troops as they were forming on the beach. The landing was effected in the morning of the 14th, without either loss or difficulty, and the first success of the army was the capture of the small tower in front, which, after it had been cautiously invested by a party of skirmishes, and then rapidly entered by a storming party of grenadiers, was found to contain no other garrison than two hens and a bitch, with a litter of pups. Upon this the French flag was hoisted with due honours, and saluted with loud cries of *Vive le Roi*.

Sidy-el-Ferruch, upon which the landing had been thus effected, was a small peninsula or promontory, about five leagues to the west of Algiers, and half a league to the east of the river Masaffran, where it discharges itself into the bay. It jutted out to a length of about a mile and half, with a mean breadth of about a mile, considerably less, however, at the neck, a part connecting it with the mainland. At this point it was low and sandy, but towards the sea rose suddenly to a height of sixty feet, forming a bluff cape or headland. The tower we have spoken of was situated on this, and might, if properly manned,

have caused considerable annoyance to the troops in landing, as its situation placed it almost beyond the reach of the broadsides of the vessels. This, however, formed no part of the Dey's plan; he was anxious that the French should land with all their baggage, in order that he might take more prisoners, and have more plunder. With this view he had merely left there a few hundred Bedouins and Kabzles, as a sort of corps of observation, while the main body of his army, amounting, with the levies lately brought in by the Beys of Constantina, Tittery, and Oran, to about forty-five thousand regular troops, with perhaps ten thousand or fifteen thousand more irregulars and skirmishers from the wandering tribes, was encamped in the immediate vicinity of Algiers, ready to be advanced as soon as the time came for the grand attack on the invaders. For this reason the regiments first landed found no difficulty in repulsing the few horsemen that they found on the beach, nor even in advancing and taking possession of the two batteries from which the Arabs had maintained an ill-directed fire towards the place of disembarkation. By midday the whole of the first and second divisions, containing each about ten thousand men, together with part of the third, and a quantity of ammunition, artillery, and stores, were landed, with a loss not exceeding thirty or forty men killed and wounded. The promontory

was quickly cleared and taken possession of; the engineer-geographers set about surveying and drawing it, while the military engineers commenced a line of fortifications, by which it was to be converted into an entrenched camp upon which the army could retire in case of need. The tents had not yet come on shore, so that after their day's labour the soldiers had each his length of good dry sand for a bed, and as much brushwood for firing as he could bring in from the out-posts without being shot by an Arab on the way. Their sleep was by no means undisturbed. They had heard of the great activity of their opponents, and expected momentarily that their quarters would be beat up, in consequence of which every unfortunate chacal that came prowling near the bivouac was sure to be challenged and fired on by the sentries; whole regiments rose in confusion; random shots were fired by one at another; some ten or twenty men, were thus put hors de combat, and it was not without difficulty that the officers succeeded in appeasing the commotion. The next day, June 15th, was chiefly occupied in getting the men into order of battle, and continuing the disembarkation of the third division. The line, which presented a species of semicircle, with its convexity towards the enemy, rested by its left wing on the sea, while the right was flanked by a brook, and had in front

a deep ravine, and some broken ground, which would necessarily be unfavourable to the action of cavalry, of which the enemy's forces seemed principally to consist. The disposition was defective in many points; the battalion on the extreme left was separated by a long space from the nearest troops to it, and there was also an empty interval of more than three hundred yards between it and the sea, by which the whole army might have been turned, as the brigs which lay near enough to cover this point by day, could of course do nothing against a well-directed night attack. The right was also not very strongly supported; but they had only to fight with barbarians, so that these blunders did not cost them very dear.

On the morning of the 16th came on a violent storm with rain, so that the vessels were obliged to stand out from shore, and the soldiers became terrified, thinking that they were about to experience the same fate as the second expedition of Charles V.: a fine day, however, on the 17th reassured them, and the sun rising bright showed that the enemy's camp had been considerably increased, while, about eight, A. M., a strong column of Moors and Arabs issued from it, and made a brisk attack on the French left, which was not repelled until every company of the twentieth regiment, posted on that wing, had been actively engaged as sharp-shooters,

and a couple of field-pieces had been sent to their support. On this occasion, General Lahitte, commanding the artillery, peculiarly distinguished himself for talent and ability ; in fact, the whole direction seemed tacitly to be left with him, as Bourmont, though he had landed, never troubled himself to come up to the army, but, remaining behind the fortifications which the engineers were throwing up, had established himself and his staff in the Marabout¹ of Sidy-el-Ferruch, situated almost at the extremity of the promontory.

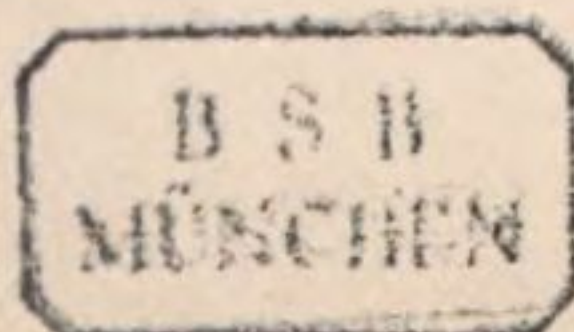
The 18th passed tolerably quietly, but the enemy were evidently mustering all their forces ; and about two in the afternoon an Arab came to the French camp to tell them that they would certainly be attacked the next day, and that the Aga, the son-in-law of the Dey, had come in person to assume the command. He also added, that the Arabs were in general much dissatisfied with the rule of the Turks, and would gladly join the French, if they could be assured of protection ; that, therefore, much would depend on the issue of the approaching contest, in which he said his people would remain, as far as possible, inactive.

¹ Marabout, or Morabet, or Marabutt, is a name given to a Moham-
medan saint, and also to his tomb ; which, if he have been of much
note, is generally covered by a shrine, or little temple, enclosed by a
wall, and generally planted in the midst of a grove of olive or orange
trees.

The remainder of the day was occupied by the French in throwing up entrenchments in front of their advanced posts, and otherwise strengthening their position, while the enemy occupying the plain of Staweli towards which the land gently rose from Sidy-el-Ferruch, constructed some strong redoubts, and laid their cannon so as to sweep the whole French line. Their forces are differently estimated by Rozet, Pichereau, St. Denys, and other writers, at from thirty-five thousand to sixty-thousand men, nearly one half of whom were mounted, while the French had but twenty-one thousand actually in line to oppose them, and the horses for their artillery, staff, and small corps of cavalry, were not yet landed, so that they laboured under many disadvantages. The Turks, indeed, were so elated by their superiority of numbers, that Ibrahim Aga sent a polite message to General Bourmont, intimating that if he did not instantly re-embark, the Algerines would throw him and his whole army into the sea.

The French army consisted of three divisions; the first of which, commanded by General Berthézène, now formed the left half of the semicircle; the second division, under General Loverdo, formed the right; while the third, under the Duke d'Escars, and, of which only a part had been as yet landed, supplied a garrison to the entrenched camp, and acted as a *corps de reserve*. At four o'clock on the

morning of the 17th June, the battle of Staweli commenced, by a general assault on the entire French front. Numerous masses of the enemy, horse and foot, mixed confusedly, came down in a furious manner on the battalions, discharged their muskets, made an attempt to break the line, and, when foiled in that, retired to load, and renew the assault in the same manner. In all these groups were to be seen some Turkish Janissaries mounted, who always urged on the others to the onset, leading the way, reproaching, or even striking them with the flats of their sabres, if they appeared remiss. In spite of their ignorance, the Algerine chiefs seem soon to have perceived the defects of the French position, for it quickly became evident that their object was to turn it on the flanks, get between it and the entrenched camp, and so place their enemies between two fires. With this view their most impetuous attacks were directed against the extremities of the line, and particularly the left, where General Berthezème commanded. Against this point the Aga led, in person, three thousand of his bravest Janissaries, with fifteen thousand Moors and Kolooglics, supported by a swarm of Arabs and Berbers, under their great Sheikh, Ben-Zahmoun. The advanced posts of the thirty-seventh regiment were the first attacked, and with an impetuosity that broke down all resistance. The Turks charged



at full gallop, leaped the breast-work, behind which the party was entrenched, and in a moment the redoubt was taken. Captain Harlet, who commanded, was obliged to retreat with precipitation towards his regiment, while the Turks, elated by success, charged four other outworks, and succeeded in taking two. To check their further progress, the regiment, which had been formed in close column awaiting the attack, was ordered to deploy, and Trémau, the commandant, placing himself at the head of the grenadiers, while Harlet's men rallied on his flanks, advanced in double quick time, and, supported by the light companies, succeeded in retaking the redoubts, and expelling the enemy, who, however, retired, contesting the ground foot by foot. Still, further to the left, the danger was even more imminent. By some strange neglect the first battalion of the twenty-eighth regiment had been left so far in advance that it was in a manner isolated from all the rest. This was perceived the very morning of the engagement, and a retrograde movement ordered, which was in the act of being executed, when the Turks made a charge, and, in consequence of the thickness of the fog, were almost on them before they were perceived. The rear-guard, under Captain Brady, instantly faced about, and threw in a well-directed volley, which served to keep the enemy somewhat in check, while Colonel

Mounier was engaged in halting the battalion, at the head of which he placed himself to meet the charge. But the situation was unfavourable, for the downs on his left were intersected by numerous valleys and ravines, through each of which parties of Arabs came stealing up, so that, in order to prevent his being surrounded, he was obliged to send detachments to each of these points. By this he was so weakened, that he found himself at last left with but two companies to guard the colours, and at the same moment some of his parties, after having fought bravely, began to give way for want of ammunition. One of his remaining companies was detached to fill the space thus left, and the struggle was maintained for some time longer; but at last numbers prevailed: his men, dazzled by the rising sun, and confused by the reiterated assaults of the enemy from every quarter, broke up in great confusion, while the Turks, riding through them, formed for a final charge on the central position, now defended only by a single company. "Save the colours!" was quickly heard, and the fugitives, arrested by the call, once more rallied, and prepared to receive the charge with the point of the bayonet. Just then General d'Arcine came up to their assistance with the twenty-ninth regiment, hitherto in reserve, and, both corps joining, advanced on the enemy, and soon succeeded in driving

them from all the posts they had gained. The ships also, which, from the confused state in which both parties had been mixed, were obliged to restrain their fire, now opened on the retreating columns of the enemy with considerable effect.

On the centre the attack had been much less vigorous, and was chiefly confined to a cannonade and an affair of outposts; but on the right wing the assault, directed by the Bey of Constantina, was very impetuous. All had appeared quiet in this quarter until a little before four, A. M., when suddenly strong bodies of cavalry were seen pouring down from the two small hills directly on their front, while at the same instant a vigorous cannonade was opened from the redoubts; and, at the first cannon shot, an immense number of Arabs, who had crept along unseen through the brushwood, rose within a hundred yards of the line and threw in a deadly fire, aiming principally at the artillerymen, who, with their guns, were here in park. The shock was sudden, and the outposts being at the same moment charged, considerable exertions were required before the enemy could be repelled, and the guns, which they made many attempts to take, secured. Much assistance was given on this side by the three steam boats, which lay close to the shore, and with their cannon made great gaps in the advancing masses of the enemy.

The attack had now completely failed on all points, and the enemy were compelled, after losing great numbers, to retire to their original position. The battle had raged from four in the morning, and it was now seven; yet the general had not made his appearance. The army fought by companies and brigades; every regiment had repelled the attacks made on it; but there was no combined plan on which to act. At length General Lahitte, seeing that the opportunity of a complete victory was in his hands, took on himself to order a general advance of the right wing, which was instantly executed, and the enemy driven with great slaughter from the heights on which they were rallying. The left also had completely driven back the troops opposed to them, and advanced, so that the whole army now occupied the elevated plain of Staweli, and the little hills by which it was crowned—the very position, in fact, from which the Algerines had made their attack in the morning. Arrived here, they halted for a moment to recover breath, and allow the soldiers a short rest, necessary after an unintermitting contest of four hours, rendered more fatiguing by the heat of the sun, which had now dissipated the fog, and was beginning to be oppressive. Before them stretched away towards the east and south, an extensive elevated plateau, on which

the enemy were rallying in great numbers, under shelter of their guns, and were taking up a new position, nearly parallel with the first. There too, lay the whole Algerine encampment, with its snow-white tents glittering in the beams of the morning sun. In its rear rose a few hillocks, from behind which they could discern rising numerous flags and pennons, indicating the presence of concealed forces, while its front was protected by well made batteries, covered with heavy cannon. Squadrons of cavalry were manœuvring to place themselves in line, as if for another charge; every thing showed that the struggle was to be renewed, and orders were passed along the French line, to resume their ranks, and prepare for forming square on the first movement of the enemy.

Matters were in this situation, when the Count Bourmont at last made his appearance, at half past seven. Having surveyed the position of the army, he expressed his regret that they were so far in advance, as, he said, until the arrival of the horses and stores, the best thing they could do was to maintain the position they had originally occupied. To this Berthezème replied, that it was now too late to think of retiring, and that nothing remained but to profit by the ardour of the troops, pursue his success, and so take the enemy's camp. "Well," said

Bourmont, "since the wine is drawn, it must be drank¹." He then ordered an advance, and that the right division marching in echelon should turn the enemy's left, and so coop them up between the French army and the sea. The plan was excellent, but having once given the order, he seemed to take no trouble about its execution. It is evident that the right wing had to describe a great circle, and as the ground was broken, covered with brush-wood, and intersected by ravines, some time must necessarily elapse before the evolution could be brought to bear. During this time, he ought to have slowly drawn back his left wing, withdrawing it towards his camp, which would have had the double effect of taking off the enemy's attention from the right wing, which required to be as free as possible from opposition during its harassing march, and of fixing it on the left, which they would suppose to be yielding, and in consequence would be the sooner drawn into the snare he was preparing for them. In place of this he allowed both wings to advance, ordering only that the left should move more slowly, so as to form a sort of pivot for the right. This was continued for a short time; but the regiments on the left being exposed to a galling fire from the batteries in front, and be-

¹ A French proverb, something similar to ours, "You must make the best of a bad job."

coming impatient at what they considered the slow advance of the right, resolved without longer delay on making an attack, which they did with such effect that they swept every thing before them; and the light troops at full speed rushed to the batteries, fired through the embrasures at the cannoneers, who fled with such precipitation that they actually left their guns loaded, without even waiting to let them off. The movement had been completely successful—had they had to contend with a disciplined army it would have been fatal. Their line was completely broke—all combined action at an end—the left wing considerably in advance of the right; while by their success the whole weight of the enemy was thrown back on this latter division just in the most difficult situation, toiling their way through deep brushwood, and having on their flank a new and powerful tribe, which had only just arrived, and was anxiously watching an opportunity of attack. But fortunately for the French, they had only to deal with barbarians, who terrified at this sudden advance, and astonished at seeing their charges of cavalry successfully resisted by footmen, thought only of saving themselves by flight. Possessed of the batteries, the light troops continued their advance, pursued the flying Moors, Turks, and Arabs, through their camp, without giving them time to rally, and formed again on the other side,

to protect their own regiments, which under General Achard, were closely following up their success. The news that the camp was taken quickly spread along the line, and from that moment all thought of resistance was relinquished. The heavy masses which had been threatening the right began to melt away, and Captain Le Cievre now coming up with the field artillery (which for want of horses his men had actually transported in their arms), and throwing a few howitzers amongst them, the route became universal, and the confusion irretrievable. The right wing, no longer checked by their presence, moved forward more rapidly; the light troops pursued the discomfited enemy until they gained the shelter of some wooded hills; the French army bivouacked in the Algerine camp; and General Count de Bourmont, having congratulated the soldiers on a victory, the first part of which was achieved without, and the second in spite of his directions, returned to dine and sleep at his comfortable quarters in the Marabout of Sidy-el-Ferruch.

The capture of the camp was a great relief to the French army, as it was found well stored with provisions, and all manner of necessaries. More than one hundred and fifty camels, with a great quantity of mules, asses, sheep, and oxen, were straying loose through it, and were seized and appropriated either as food, or as beasts of burden.

Magazines filled with grain, with biscuit, and with ammunition, were also discovered. In most of the tents were coffee, sugar, oranges, citrons, tobacco, and long pipes, which the soldiers seized with great avidity. In the tents of the chiefs were many articles of great value, rich carpets, stuffs, furniture, and gold and silver goblets set with precious stones; over these a guard was placed, and the tents were reserved for the accommodation of the superior officers. The victory was important and complete; but, it had not been gained without an obstinate contest. The enemy had fought bravely; in fact, their inexperience in the art of war, and their want of discipline, was the true cause of their defeat. Their loss could not be well estimated, inasmuch as it is their custom to carry off their dead; it must, however, have been very considerable, as five or six hundred remained on the field, killed chiefly during the last advance, and whom, therefore, they had not had time to remove. On the French side the thirty-seventh and twenty-eighth regiments were the principal sufferers, the one having lost in killed and wounded, one hundred and twenty-five, the other one hundred and twelve men. Four officers also were killed, and many wounded. Altogether they had lost about six hundred, comparatively a small loss, yet much of it might be attributed to the want of a judicious commander.

The whole engagement was terminated by one o'clock, and the victory being announced at Sidy-el-Ferruch by the return of the general, and of some soldiers bringing in the camels and other beasts of burden which had been taken, the sailors and camp-followers, soon set off for Staweli, to offer their congratulations; and as they did not fail to take with them a due share of wine and brandy, all was soon uproar and merriment.

The enemy, on their side, were quite discomfited; they had retired in the utmost confusion and dismay; a great number of the Arabs had deserted, and returned to their own habitations; and had the French general followed up his victory by an instant advance on Algiers, from which he was only five leagues distant, there seems little doubt that the gates would have been opened, or the town carried by a coup-de-main. But such promptness was quite beyond Bourmont. He returned to wait for his cavalry and heavy cannon, which had not yet appeared; the soldiers remained at Staweli, without making any attempt to advance; so that the Algerines, not finding themselves pursued, resumed their courage. The Aga was deposed from the chief command, and the Bey of Tittery appointed in his place; fresh spirit was infused into the troops; and on the 24th, at five o'clock in the morning, they astonished the French by a brisk

attack on all the outposts, which was not repelled until the whole of the first division, and a brigade of the second, were called out, after which they retired slowly, skirmishing until nightfall, when they rested in force on a group of hills in front of the French, reaching as far as Mount Bujareah, which a reference to the little plan inserted in our map will show to have been on their left, between them and the sea. Little mischief had been done on either side during the day; but the conduct of the Algerines showed that the effects of the defeat were virtually lost, at least as regards anything beyond the plunder which the French had taken, and the few miles of ground they had advanced. The only officer whom the French lost during the day, was Amadée de Bourmont, who fell at the head of his grenadiers, wounded by a ball through the breast. His father announced the event in his dispatch, in these simple and affecting terms: "But one officer has been dangerously wounded;—he is the second of four sons who have followed me to Africa. I hope he may still live to perform his duty to his king, and his country."

On the 25th there was a good deal of hard fighting; the enemy had planted some batteries on the hills which they occupied, and also on some of the hills in front of Mount Bujareah, from which they considerably annoyed the French position. Their

sharp-shooters also came down into the valleys, where they met those of the French, and much blood was spilled on both sides without any decisive result. But at length the long-expected transports, which had been delayed by contrary winds, arrived; the horses, breaching batteries, and materiel were landed; and the General, having seen the entrenched camp at Sidy-el-Ferruch, complete, and insured the retreat of the army on it in case of disaster, by redoubts and posts established between it and their present position, finally set out to join the troops, whom he found in high spirits at the success of their skirmishes, and so far advanced as to be within a few hours' easy march of Algiers itself. But before investing the town, their military plans showed them that the Emperor's Fort must first be taken. This fort was strongly situated upon the hill over the town, which it completely commanded, as well as the Kassaubal, or citadel, occupied at that time as a palace by the Dey, and the whole fortifications and outworks towards the south and west. Its name was given it from its occupying the ground on which the tent of the Emperor Charles V. had stood, during his unsuccessful expedition in 1541; and though originally but a small tower, it had, by repeated alterations and additions, now grown into a very formidable fortress, of an irregular square figure, with a large building of mason work

in the centre, surrounded by curtains, bastions, and flanking towers, all mounted with cannon of very great calibre, and mortars in abundance. The defences, however, were by far the strongest on the sides towards the city, as the Deys had principally regarded it as the means of keeping their subjects in order, and repressing sudden insurrections. From the country side they feared nothing but attacks from the Arabs or Kabyles, whose irregular hordes would never attempt anything like a siege; and consequently on this side the walls were much weaker and lower, only defended by a single flanking tower at the salient angle; and the fort was actually commanded, at the distance of a few hundred yards, by the table-land on the summit of Mount Bujareah, which the Dey had, with unaccountable stupidity, neglected defending by any works. From that side therefore the French determined on attacking it, and to oppose them a garrison was formed of eight hundred of the bravest Janisseries, aided by about twelve hundred Arabs, Moors, and Negroes, all picked troops, and commanded by the minister of finance, an officer high in the Dey's confidence.

On the evening of the 28th of June, the Count de Bourmont found the French outposts within rather less than two leagues of this important position, while on the hills opposite lay the whole

Algerine army, resting themselves after their various unsuccessful attacks, and covered by their heavy cannon, placed in park, and some in battery along the brow of the steep. Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, and ordered the whole army to prepare for advance, the general bivouacked, surrounded by his staff in a vineyard a little in the rear of the troops, who were ordered to observe a profound silence. The whole strength of the expedition was now mustered, the third division having joined, and forming the left wing. At two o'clock on the morning of the 29th, the troops were under arms, and at three, the general having rode through the lines and enjoined the most perfect silence, gave the word to advance. At this moment not an individual seems to have been awake in the enemy's camp. Trusting to their dogs, of which they had a great number, and supposing that the French, as usual, would wait to be attacked, they had not planted a single sentry, but wrapped in their hayks were all enjoying a profound sleep. Meantime the French had crossed the valley, and climbed the opposite hill, without meeting a single challenge; their light troops advanced rapidly, and it was not until they, with loud cries of "Vive le Roi!" had burst into the midst of the camp, that the Algerines awoke, and without even attempting a fight, fled on all sides with the greatest precipitation. The sur-

prise was complete, and the route universal:—camp, cannon, standards, baggage, arms, and ammunition, all fell to the conquerors; and their way to the Emperor's Fort lay open without a single combined body to oppose their advance. Hitherto the army had not been able to procure a single guide, and their advance was solely directed by the maps and plans which they possessed. These were so generally correct, that the advance had been made in as straight a line as the nature of the country would admit. But now that they had almost reached their object, and in fact, when the brigade of General d'Arcine was within cannon-shot of the fort, close to the houses of the Spanish and Dutch consuls, the officers on the right seeing below them the plain of the Metigiah, covered with a thick fog, as the sun rose, took it for the sea, exclaimed that they had gone too far to the east, and were leaving the fort behind; and having persuaded the Count de Bourmont (no great geographer, it would appear,) to be of their opinion, orders were issued to alter the whole line of advance: the army was faced about to the north, and a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. They had been advancing regularly along the crest of a ridge which led straight to the fort; but now they had to descend this, then mount an opposite one, and so on for a number of successive elevations, until they became so entangled

amongst brushwood and plantations, and country houses, and ravines, and rivulets, and so fatigued by the incessant toil, not only of marching, but breaking down all the hedges in their way, to enable the cannon to pass, that regiment became mixed with regiment, no officer could find his own company, no general his own brigade, and the whole army was in such a complete state of disorganization, that Roset declares, had the Turks made a sally with only three thousand men, the fate of the expedition was irretrievably sealed. But they were once more saved by having to do with barbarians; and after much toil and climbing, and confusion and bustle, the general at last found himself on the top of Mount Bujareah, from which he got a full view of the Emperor's Fort to his right, as also of Algiers, with its harbour, and shipping, and fortifications, and at the same moment was saluted by a discharge from the Kassaubah, the balls of which, however, from the great distance, merely reached him in a spent state. All was now right: the troops were once more got into order, and faced about in the proper direction; and about three in the afternoon the whole army came in sight of the fort, having spent about twelve hours of constant labour and exertion in getting forward some three or four miles. From this time every thing went on in the ordinary course of a siege. Ground was broken

that same night within half a mile of the fort, under shelter of several hedges, gardens, and country houses, which the Algerines had neglected to destroy, and which now concealed much of the French operations from their observation. The fort fired constantly during the day, but most of their shots were aimed at random, and the working parties were soon covered, so that little damage was done. The fleet, which was expected to make a diversion in favour of the army, sailed into the bay on the afternoon of the 3rd of July; but its commanders not seeming to like the preparations made for their reception, they merely fired a few shots, from such a distance as to keep themselves safe from harm, and showed so little ambition to emulate Lord Exmouth's example, that on the appearance of a few gun-boats getting outside the mole to meet them, they sheered off, and were seen no more till the town was taken. The only injury they suffered was the loss of a few men by the bursting of one of their own guns; and all that they inflicted was estimated by a French officer of engineers at the enormous sum of *seven francs fifty centimes*, or about six shillings and three-pence of our money. Such were the achievements of a fleet containing two vessels of eighty guns, nine of seventy-four, thirteen of from sixty to sixty-four, and a quantity of sloops, brigs, frigates, and smaller craft, together with eight bomb-ships, expressly

fitted out to bombard the town. The whole French army, who, from the heights they occupied, were spectators of the entire manœuvre, cried shame on their pusillanimity. We may only add, that had Vice-Admiral Duperré commanded an English fleet, he would have shown much ingenuity had he saved himself from sharing the fate of Admiral Byng.

The French works, however, were now nearly complete; that very night the heavy breaching cannon were all mounted; and at day-break on the 4th of July, General Lahitte, having assured himself by personal inspection that all was ready, ordered the signal rocket to be thrown, and at the same moment the whole French batteries opened their fire within point blank distance, and with a report which shook the whole of Algiers, and brought the garrison, who were little expecting so speedy an attack, running to their posts. The artillery was admirably served, and from one battery which enfiladed the fort, the balls were seen to sweep away at once an entire row of Algerine cannoneers from their guns. The Turks displayed the most undaunted courage; they answered shot for shot, supplied with fresh men the places of such as were slain, stopped up with woolsacks the breaches made by the balls, replaced the cannon which the French fire had dismounted, and never relaxed their exertions for a moment.

But the nature of their works was ill-calculated to withstand the scientific accuracy with which the besiegers made their attack. Every ball now told—the tower in the centre was completely riddled by shot and shells; the bursting of these latter had disabled great numbers of the garrison. By seven o'clock the besieged had begun to retire from the most damaged part of their works; by half-past eight the whole outer line of defence was abandoned, and by nine the fire of the fort was extinct. The Turkish general finding opposition hopeless, had sent to the Dey for commands; and in reply was ordered to retreat with his whole remaining force to the Kassaubah, and leave three negroes to blow up the fort. The tranquillity with which they performed this fatal task deserves record. The French finding the enemy's fire to fail, directed all theirs towards effecting a practicable breach. The fort seemed to be abandoned;—two red flags floated still on its outside line of defence, and a third on the angle towards the city. Three negroes were seen calmly walking on the ramparts, and from time to time looking over, as if to examine what progress the breach was making. One of them, struck by a cannon-ball, fell, and the others, as if to revenge his death, ran to a cannon, pointed it, and fired three shots. At the third, the gun turned over, and they were unable to replace it. They tried another, and

as they were in the act of raising it, a shot swept the legs from under one of them. The remaining negro gazed for a moment on his comrade, drew him a little back, left him, and once more examined the breach. He then snatched one of the flags, and retired to the interior of the tower; in a few minutes he re-appeared, took a second and descended. The French continued to cannonade, and the breach appeared almost practicable, when suddenly they were astounded by a terrific explosion, which shook the whole ground as with an earthquake; an immense column of smoke, mixed with streaks of flame, burst from the centre of the fortress, masses of solid masonry were hurled into the air to an amazing height, while cannon, stones, timbers, projectiles, and dead bodies, were scattered in every direction—the negro had done his duty—the fort was blown up.

In half an hour the French sappers and miners were at work repairing the smoking ruins, their advanced guards had effected a reconnoissance along the side of the hill towards the fort Bab-azoonah, and their engineers had broken ground for new works within seven hundred yards of the Kassaubah. But these preparations were unnecessary; the Dey had resigned all further intention of resistance, and at two o'clock a flag of truce was announced, which proved to be Sidy Mustapha, the Dey's private

secretary, charged with offers of paying the whole expense of the campaign, relinquishing all his demands on France, and making any further reparation that the French general might require, on condition that the troops should not enter Algiers. These proposals met with an instant negative:—Bourmont felt that Algiers was in his power, and declared that he would grant no other terms than an assurance of life to the Dey and inhabitants, adding that if the gates were not opened he should recommence his fire. Scarcely had Mustapha gone, than two other deputies appeared, sent by the townsmen to plead in their behalf. They were a Turk called Omar¹, and a Moor named Boudierba, who having lived for some time at Marseilles, spoke French perfectly. They received nearly the same answer as Mustapha; but they proved themselves better diplomatists², for they spoke so much to the general of the danger there would be in refusing the Janissaries all terms, and the probability that if thus driven to despair they might make a murderous resistance, and afterwards destroy all the wealth and blow up all the forts before surrendering,

¹ M. Juckereau St. Denys calls him Sidy Mahmoud.

² While conversing with the general, a ball fired from the fort Babazoonna struck the ground near their feet, by which they appeared much terrified; "Don't be afraid," said General Lahitte, with much *naïveté*, "it is not at you they are firing."

that Bourmont, yielding to their representations, became less stern in his demands; and Mustapha having returned about the same time with the English vice-consul, as a mediator, the following terms were finally committed to paper, and sent to the Dey by an interpreter.

“ 1. The fort of the Kassaubah, with all the other forts dependent on Algiers, and the harbour, shall be placed in the hands of the French troops the 5th of July, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

“ 2. The general-in-chief of the French army ensures the Dey of Algiers personal liberty, and all his private property.

“ 3. The Dey shall be free to retire with his family and wealth wherever he pleases. While he remains at Algiers he and his family shall be under the protection of the commander-in-chief. A guard shall insure his safety, and that of his family.

“ 4. The same advantages, and same protection are assured to all the soldiers of the militia.

“ 5. The exercise of the Mohammedan religion shall remain free; the liberty of the inhabitants of all classes, their religion, property, commerce, and industry shall receive no injury; their women shall be respected: the general takes this on his own responsibility.

“ 6. The ratifications of this convention to be

made before 10, A. M., on the 5th of July, and the French troops immediately after to take possession of the Kassaubah, and other forts."

These terms were so much more favourable than the Dey could have expected, that, of course, not a moment was lost in signifying his acceptance: he only begged to be allowed two hours more to get himself and his goods out of the Kassaubah, and these were readily granted. It may, indeed, be wondered at that he and his Janissaries should be allowed to retain all their ill-gotten booty, under the name of private property; but Count de Bourmont, though not without talent, was essentially a weak man, and was in this instance overreached by the wily Moor. The whole of next morning an immense number of persons were seen flying from Algiers, previous to the entry of the French army, and carrying with them all their goods, valuables, and money. They fled by the fort Bab-azoonah, on the roads towards Constantina and Bleeda; and about a hundred mounted Arabs were seen caracol-ling on the beach, as if to cover their retreat. No opposition to it, however, was made by the French troops, or by their navy, which had now again come in sight.

At twelve o'clock the general, with his staff, artillery, and a strong guard, entered the Kassaubah, and at the same moment all the other forts were

taken possession of by French troops. No one appeared to make a formal surrender, nor did any one present himself on the part of the inhabitants to inquire as to what protection they were to receive, yet, on the whole, we believe the troops conducted themselves, at least on this occasion, with signal forbearance; and that of the robberies which took place, the greater number were perpetrated by Moors and Jews. One was rather ingenious. The minister of finance had given up the public treasures to commissioners regularly appointed for the purpose. Amongst others, the mint was visited, a receipt given of its containing bullion to the amount of 25,000 or 30,000 francs, the door sealed, and a sentry placed. Next morning the seal was perfect, the sentry at his post, but the bullion was gone through a small hole made in the back wall.

The amount of public property found in Algiers, and appropriated by the French, was very considerable, and much more than repaid the expenses of the expedition. The blockade of the last three years had, by interrupting their commerce, caused an accumulation of the commodities in which the Algerines generally paid their tribute, so that the storehouses at the Kassaubah were abundantly filled with wool, hides, leather, wax, lead and copper. Quantities of grain, silks, muslins, and gold and silver tissues were also found, as well as salt, of

which the Dey had reserved to himself a monopoly, and, by buying it very cheap at the Balearic Isles, used to sell it at an extravagant rate to his subjects. The treasure alone amounted to nearly fifty million of francs, and the cannon, projectiles, powder magazines, and military stores, together with the public buildings, foundries, dock-yards, and vessels in the harbour, were estimated at a still larger amount; while the entire expense of the expedition, including land and sea service, together with the maintenance of an army of occupation up to January, 1831, was computed not to exceed 48,500,000 francs; so that France must have realized, by her first connection with Algiers, a sum not far short of £3,000,000 sterling—a larger amount, we will venture to say, than is likely to accrue to her again, even after many years colonization.

In a few days the Dey had embarked for Naples, which he chose as his future place of residence; the Janissaries were sent in French vessels to Constantinople; the Bey of Tittery made his submissions, and swore allegiance to the French King; orders were issued, and laws enacted in his name; the Arabs and Kalyles came into market as usual with their fowl and game; a French soldier was tolerably safe, as long as he avoided going to any distance beyond the outposts; and, on the whole, Algiers the warlike had assumed all the appearance

of a French colony: of its existence as such, we shall defer speaking until we have spoken more fully of its situation, inhabitants, capabilities, and productions.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHY.

General view of Barbary States—Detailed description of Algiers—
Face of country—Mountainous ridges and plains—Sea-shore—Rivers
—Use in dividing kingdom into provinces—Lakes—Sea—Climate and
meteorology—Soil—Mode of cultivation, and products.

ALL that part of the northern coast of Africa, which may in a general way be described as lying between Egypt on the east, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Mediterranean Sea on the north, and Mount Atlas on the south, passes under the common appellation of Barbary, or more properly Berbery, derived from the name Berbers, by which the Arabians distinguish its inhabitants. It is divided into several smaller principalities, or kingdoms, independent of each other, and frequently in a state of hostility, yet professing the same religion, more or less closely allied with or dependent on the Sublime Porte, pursuing the same piratical mode of livelihood, and derived in a great measure from a common origin. The Atlas, of course, constitutes the prominent feature of the country. This is not a single ridge of mountains, but may be described as consisting of two leading chains; the highest and

most southerly, bordering on Sahara or the Desert, is termed the Great Atlas; while the northerly, running closer along the sea-shore, is termed the Lesser Atlas. These two chains run in nearly a parallel direction from west to east, and are connected together by lesser chains very irregular, but appearing usually to run north and south, containing between them both valleys and table-land of great fertility. The distance of this, which we may call the hill country, from the sea, varies considerably, being in some places not more than forty miles, in others more than a hundred; the narrowest tracts being generally to the west of Algiers, and the widest to the east. The height of the greater Atlas is very considerable, being estimated at twelve thousand feet, so that its summit is covered with snow all the year round. Another effect of this height is, that all clouds coming from the north are intercepted, and, being condensed on these summits, are brought down in rain, which thus is very abundant in the countries between them and the Mediterranean, while it rarely falls to the south, or on that thirsty region beyond them, which is known as the great and sandy desert. The mountains are more barren the further we go inland, and more productive as we approach the sea. The sides of the Lesser Atlas are clothed with oak, cypress, wild olive, juniper, myrtle, arbutus, the

cistus that yields the fragrant gum ladanum, and many other beautiful and valuable vegetable productions. The general character of the rocks Desfontaines describes as calcareous. "In many mountains," he says, "even bordering on the desert, and far removed from the sea, I found immense masses of marine shells. Iron ore frequently occurred in the beds of the torrents. Mines of lead, extremely rich, lay neglected and unworked near Mascar, in consequence of the indolence and want of enterprize of the Moors; nor was copper wanting in that and other districts. Thermal waters frequently occurred, some raising the thermometer even as high as 77° Reaumur, or within a few degrees of the boiling point; while earthquakes were not unusual along the whole line, and marks of volcanic action were still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Oran." The rivers generally pursue a course from south to north; that is, rising in the chain of mountains just described, they discharge themselves into the Mediterranean Sea. Along their banks are frequently the only passes by which it is possible to get through the mountains, and gain the interior country. The temperature of Barbary is warm, but the climate is healthy, and most delightful along the northern parts. Their mild winters almost represent an early spring. Snow some-

times fall on the Lesser Atlas, but never remains long. In the plains there is almost a constant succession of bloom, and the summer heats are agreeably tempered by the vicinity of the ocean.

Such is a general description of Barbary, the most celebrated, though not the largest, State, of which Algiers is to be more peculiarly the object of our present attention. It occupies nearly the centre of this district, having on its west Fez and Morocco, which stretch away opposite Gibraltar, and down along the shores of the Atlantic, while its eastern side is bordered on by Tunis, beyond which are the States of Tripoli; and still further east the once fertile, now sandy, plains of Barea, which serve as a barrier between them and Egypt. The name Algiers is derived from two Arabic words, *Al Jezeire*, meaning "The Island," and was originally given to the city in consequence of a small island being situated at a short distance from the coast, and on which the principal part of their fortifications are erected, while a mole connects it with the main land. From the city the name spread to the country lying around it. According to Doctor Shaw, the true length of this country, along the sea-shore from east to west, would be about four hundred and eighty miles, from E. longitude $9^{\circ} 16'$ to W. longitude $0^{\circ} 16'$, measured from the meridian of London. It is

separated on the east from the kingdom of Tunis by an almost arbitrary division, admitting of constant disputes; on the west, Mount Trara, a small chain which runs north to the sea, and juts out at Cape Horne, would appear to offer something more like a natural boundary towards Morocco; but this, too, seems to have been a point frequently in dispute. As to the breadth of the kingdom, it is not more clearly defined. On the north the sea forms a boundary line, admitting of no question; but on the south the mountain chains sometimes approach, sometimes recede from the coast; and the power of the Dey is sometimes greater, sometimes less, over the tribes that inhabit them, and even occasionally stray along the borders of the great desert, so that when we say his dominions reach sixty or a hundred miles inland, between 34° and 37° N. latitude, we at the same time show the indefinite nature of his power, and the great difficulty of affording accurate information respecting it.

To gain a general idea of the face of the country, we will suppose a traveller to have landed at the city of Algiers, and climbing to the top of the hill, on the sides of which it is built, to commence his observations. Looking south, he will perceive a group of little hills, giving the ground an undulated appearance, and running in a direction nearly east and west. Beyond these hills lies the vast plain of

Metijiah, stretching to the east and west as far as the eye can reach, but bounded on the south by a chain of mountains, the Lesser Atlas, of good height, and running in a direction obviously parallel to that of the little hills. We may thus look on Metijiah as a place gently declining from south to north, and bounded on the former side by a lofty chain, on the latter by one much lower, both of which terminate suddenly on the verge of the plain, scarcely sending an outwork or stray branch into it. The crest of the Lesser Atlas is cleft in many places, presenting some curiously pointed peaks; but in general the summits are more rounded, and softened off, as is usual in secondary formations. Their sides are furrowed by numerous and deep vallies, some of which appear to have their origin deep in the interior of the chain.

If our traveller now marches straight south, and, crossing the plain of Metijiah, ascends the northern side of the Lesser Atlas, and gains its summit, he will see its southern declivity much steeper than its northern, and beyond it irregular masses of hills, containing amongst them many spots of beauty and fertility, and stretching away, until, almost on the verge of the horizon, they join the third and greatest chain: the true Mount Atlas still running parallel with that on which the spectator is standing, and shooting its snow-capped summits to a great

elevation. Turning his eyes east, he will see, at the distance of about twenty-five leagues, Jurjura, the highest mountain of the Lesser Atlas chain, presenting sharp crests, and pointed pinnacles. Towards the south-west may be observed several lofty summits, of which the most remote, in the shape of a sugar-loaf, should be on the borders of Morocco; and towards this point the two chains converge, and forming from thence but a single ridge, run along the south-east border of Morocco, till gradually descending in height as they approach the sea, they finally terminate at Cape Agulon, where the Atlantic washes the western coast of Africa.

The general direction of the sea-coast of Algiers is from east to west; rising a little to the north of the former, and sinking to the south of the latter. It is indented by numerous bays, formed chiefly at the mouths of the rivers, which in good numbers descend from the mountains. One of the finest and best of these is the Bay of Algiers; a semi-circular indentation, on the west side of which rises the city, which thus looks east, and not north, as would have been the case were it placed on the general line of coast. This bay is fringed round by the little hills we have before mentioned, as forming the northern border of the Metijiah; and the intervening space is chiefly sandy along the

shore, sometimes, however, rising into *downs*, while further in it becomes abundantly productive, and bears a rich variety of herbage and trees. This may be taken as a general description of the coast, except that, occasionally, it is intersected by off-lying ridges, which, running north, terminate at the sea in projecting capes.

The rivers by which this country is watered are numerous, and of good size, though many of them are nearly dried up, or much diminished in depth, during the summer heats. Looking to the map, we may perceive on the extreme west the river Mullooiah, which, in fact, belongs rather to Morocco than Algiers, yet it has frequently been claimed as a boundary by the latter kingdom. It is a deep and impetuous stream, impassable during the months of December and January; but in summer it is not only fordable, but often quite dry, whence Mr. Jackson tells us, it has received the name of *Bahar billa ma*, or a sea without water.

The Brook of Oran deserves notice, not for its size, but for its great utility to this city, which it almost entirely supplies with water. Taking its source in the Lesser Atlas, from which chain, indeed, all the Algerine rivers, except perhaps the Shellif, flow, it first follows a valley, running from west to east, where it is not seen, as it is made to traverse a subterranean watercourse. Leaving this valley,

the brook, still subterranean, turns north, following a deep but narrow ravine, along the base of two mountains. Within about a mile of Oran, the watercourse is perforated, and a portion of the water suffered to escape, which runs along the valley, waters the several gardens that are there found, serves to turn some mills, and finally discharges itself into the sea. The rest, conducted along an aqueduct to the west side of Oran, supplies a basin, whence water is distributed to the whole city. There was another brook to the east of Oran, which had been rendered similarly useful; but at the time M. Rozet was there the aqueduct had been broken down, and the water, discharging itself into the valley, reached the sea about half a mile beyond the city.

Continuing our view along the shore to the east, we are next arrested by the embouchure of the Shellif, the largest river of this country, which seeks its source in the distant or Greater Atlas. Abulfedu reports it to have the same property as the Nile, of increasing its waters in summer; and if we take into consideration the melting of the snows in the chains from which it descends, the fact would not appear improbable. Doctor Shaw, however, states his conviction that no occasion could ever have been given for any constant or regular appearance of that kind; but he does not add any facts

or observations from which he was enabled to make so positive an assertion. He crossed the river in autumn, and describes it as nearly of the same size as the Isis, after its junction with the Cherwell. Its whole course is not less than two hundred miles, though a straight line from its source to its mouth would be little more than a fourth of that distance. But it forms almost a semicircle, directing itself first from *Sebbeine Ain*, or the seventy fountains, where it rises, almost due east, until being reinforced by the Midrac, and other streams, it forms the Lake Tittery, issuing from the other extremity of which, it makes a perfect sweep round, flowing now in a north-west direction, and running for some distance almost parallel with the sea-coast, towards which it finally turns, and reaches it at the cape, called *Jibbel Diss*, or the Mountain of Reeds, about fifteen miles to the east of the city of Moustaganim.

The Masaffran is the next river of note, and is formed by the union of several streams that have watered Belida, Medea, and other cities in the interior. In passing along the deep vallies here, the river makes such numerous windings and turnings, that Doctor Shaw crossed it fourteen times within an hour. The name Masaffran, he states, was given it probably from the tawny or saffron colour of its water. While in the mountains, it

runs rapidly over a clear gravelly bed, but, after reaching the plain, becomes a slow, lazy stream, wandering heavily over a muddy bottom. It serves as the boundary line of Oran, the most westernly of the three provinces into which the kingdom of Algiers is divided, and which extended from this river to the kingdom of Morocco. The second province, Tittery, next commences, and contains the capital city, stretching over the plain of Metijiah, and so away to the south, or interior. Its eastern boundary is the Bouberek, which flows from the Jurjura to the sea; and beyond this river is the third province, Constantina, which reaches to the boundaries of Tunis, supposed to be determined at this side by the course of the little river Zaine, but in a great measure depending on an arbitrary line.

The province of Tittery contains few rivers of note. The Haratch pours its waters into the Bay of Algiers, about four miles east, or rather south-east of the city, and is remarkable as pointing out the spot where the ill-fated Spanish expedition under O'Reilly chose to disembark. It generally flows between steep banks, but the water, even in the rainy season, does not reach above a horse's belly. Ruins of an ancient Roman city are found on its banks, which Doctor Shaw pronounced to be Icosium, though by others this city is supposed to have

occupied the present situation of Algiers. A little farther on we perceive the Hamaese, also discharging itself into the bay, and a short distance beyond that occurs Cape Temendfuse, or *Metafuz*, called generally by the French *Matifore*, which terminates the bay on the side opposite to the city, and from which point the shore, hitherto safe and easy of access, becomes rugged and rocky. A few unimportant streams find their way out through this iron-bound coast; but at a distance of three leagues to the east of Cape Metafuz occurs the Bouberak, already mentioned as separating the central province, Tittery, from the eastern, Constantina. This latter is the largest province of the kingdom, almost equalling in extent the other two, and stretching along the sea for a distance of two hundred and thirty miles. Its tribute also bore the same proportion as its size; for while Oran sent in from 40,000 to 50,000 dollars, and Tittery not more than from 12,000 to 20,000 dollars, Constantina never contributed less than 80,000 dollars, and sometimes as high as 100,000 dollars. Its predominance in rivers is not so decided. From the Bouberak the eye passes on for a considerable distance, until the shore which had hitherto been rising rather towards the northward, suddenly presents another deep indentation similar to that we noticed at Algiers, and which in like manner has a flourishing town, Bujeiah, on its western

coast, while a little beyond opens a considerable stream, the Zowah, and further on another, the Mansoureh, from which is shipped the greatest part of the oak timber used in the dock-yards of Algiers. This Bay of Bujeiah is terminated by Cape Jigel, exactly as the Bay of Algiers was by Cape Metafuz. Beyond it, at a distance of about thirty miles, breaks out the Rummel, a tolerably large stream, which had in the interim passed by the city Constantina, answering to the ancient Cirta; and passing on still eastward along the shore, we find two more indentations or bays very similar to those already described, and in like manner receiving rivers into their bosom, and bearing cities on their western coasts. The first of these cities is Cull, situated on the Bay of Hora; the second, Bona, on a gulf of its own name, into which we see opening, always to the east of the town, two rivers, the Seibouse and Maffrag, both subject to inundations, and both bringing down much timber with their floods; while beyond them the bay is terminated by Cape Rosa, a few leagues to the east of which is La Calle, in former times famous as the coral fishing station of the French African Company, and where, in the days of Doctor Shaw, "those gentlemen had a magnificent house and garden, three hundred coral fishers, a company of soldiers, several pieces of

ordnance, and a place of arms." Our view of the coast terminates with the river Zaine, beyond which must be considered as belonging to Tunis. At its mouth is the little island Tabarea, once occupied by the Lomellini, a celebrated Genoese family, for the same purpose as La Calle was by the French. It had been ceded to them by the Tuniseans as a ransom for one of their princes, whom Andrea Doria had taken prisoner. A small castle, well armed and in good order, protected the coral fishery in these seas; but in 1740, Ali Pasha, then Dey of Tunis, took the castle by treachery, put part of the garrison to the sword, and reduced the rest to the state of captives. A similar outrage on the unoffending coral-fishers at Bona, was, as we have already shown, the immediate cause of the last English bombardment of Algiers; the Dey imitated his Tunisean predecessor in cruelty and atrocity, but happily for mankind, he could not boast of the same impunity.

The lakes are neither numerous nor extensive in Algiers. Two occur in the neighbourhood of Oran, which are entirely dry during the summer, though in winter one of them to the south of the city, covers an extent of several square leagues. The lake Tittery, formed by the river Shelliff, we have already mentioned; it covers a good deal of ground, but has not much depth. There are some

smaller lakes, or rather ponds, in the two other provinces, of which some near the sea, and containing saline waters, were probably in former times used as salt-pans.

The sea that washes the whole north coast of Africa is the Mediterranean. Off Algiers it generally presents a clear blue limpid water, seldom discoloured to any extent by the land torrents, and seldom exhibiting any marks of phosphorescence so common in other parts. There are numerous minor currents along the shore in addition to the great current, which always flows from the Straits of Gibraltar towards the east. Many of these bear in towards land, and are extremely dangerous for ships that happen to lie too near during a calm. The prevalence of a north-west wind, always renders disembarkation hazardous; during a high storm the waves have been seen to dash even over the fortifications of the mole at Algiers, though rising to a height of fifty to sixty feet above the ordinary level of the sea. A heavy swell also at times exists, even when the wind is quite still. The air that blows over the sea coast, is in general humid, containing a great quantity of watery vapour, holding in solution some saline particles. The effect of these is powerfully shown in the rapidity with which instruments made of steel and iron rust, even when constantly attended to. As regards health,

however, it appears uncommonly salutary, endemic diseases being scarcely known.

The cultivated parts of the Barbary States, are represented by Doctor Shaw, Mr. Jackson, and others who had long resided in the country, as enjoying an equable and delightful atmosphere. During the space of twelve years that the former attended the factory of Algiers, to which he was chaplain, the thermometer twice only fell to the freezing point, nor did it ever rise to sultry heat, unless when the wind blew from over the desert. The seasons insensibly passed into one another; and the whole variation of the barometer, during his stay, did not exceed an inch and three-tenths. M. Rozet, in his recent work on Algiers, has given very accurate meteorological tables and observations, agreeing in the main with the above statement.

The mean temperature at Algiers, he estimated at 17° Cent. (62° Fah.); but in the months of July and August, a thermometer plunged in the sand, has risen to 113° or 122° , and the shoes of the soldiers were actually burnt in marching over it. Yet however violent the heat, it never had an oppressive character on the plains, unless the wind blew from the south; but M. Rozet frequently experienced sensations of suffocation on descending into the little valleys between the hills.

“The tracts,” pursues M. Rozet, “that border the sea, and the soil of the plain of Metijiah, are considerably heated during summer, yet it has never occurred to me to see the phenomenon of *Mirage*, at least, in any perfection. Objects undulated strongly, and appeared surrounded by water; but the image was rarely seen reversed, and never very clear.”

December is the month of the year in which the thermometer falls lowest, yet it very rarely, as we have seen, reaches the freezing point. Ice, therefore, is almost unknown: a slight fall of snow took place, December 25, 1830, but did not last more than an hour. From the usual high temperature, however, the cold when arrived at this degree is more severely felt by Europeans, than that of their own country. The houses are all built rather with a view to summer, and present no fire-places in the sitting rooms; so that the French officers declared they suffered more from the cold there, than they had done in France during the severest winters. The Moors and Arabs seem to bear it much better. They generally adopt an additional covering, but continue to go about with their legs naked.

It is during the month of August, that the thermometer generally ranges highest. M. Rozet has marked it at 92° , and in June, July, and September, at 85° , 86° , 88° , respectively. These then are the

four hottest months of the year. In October, the temperature is extremely agreeable, though there are still days in which the thermometer reaches 75°. With November commences the bad weather, and the cold, which last at intervals, even as far as April.

Towards the end of December the trees lose their leaves, but before the 20th of January the young birds have already appeared, and the hedges are generally sprinkled with shrubs, greening and blossoming. In the middle of February vegetation is in full activity; and at the commencement of March is collected the first crop of apples, pears, and some other fruits. From March to June the season is delicious on the Barbary coasts, but then commence the great heats, the springs dry up, and vegetation is at an end. The hottest time of the day is between twelve and two, but the most insupportable is frequently from nine to ten in the morning, as there is then generally a dead calm just previous to the rising of the sea breeze. The nights are not so much colder than the days as has been generally represented; but the dews are often very abundant. The most usual winds are the north and north-west; dangerous storms from those quarters sometimes occur between November and April, and are severely felt in all the roads and harbours along the Barbary coast. It was on this account that a

Spanish officer, when asked by Charles V. "where were the best ports in Barbary?" replied, "May it please your Majesty, in the months of June, July, and August." When the south wind, the *simoom* of the desert, blows, the effects are most overcoming. Its approach is announced by a fog or reddish haze that covers the summits of the Lesser Atlas. Soon the heat is rapidly increased, and the wind beginning to blow, the thermometer rises nine, ten, or sometimes eighteen degrees. A French officer says, "September 17th, 1830, at mid-day the thermometer stood at 100°. The heat was then intense, respiration was impeded, violent head-aches were felt, with lassitude in all our limbs. The Moors and Arabs shut themselves up in their houses or retired under trees; they were at least as much overcome as us. Our soldiers reeled like drunken men, and lost all recollection; those who had not a little wine were unable to get on; all experienced severe head-ache." This wind fortunately did not last for more than twenty-four hours: had it continued with the same intensity for two days, the mischief done would have been incalculable. It seldom rains much during summer, but the rains in winter are frequent, and as in all hot countries, very abundant. Storms are rare, but those which do occur are always extremely violent: the air is then charged with electricity, which gives rise to a number of curious phænomena. Some of

these manifest themselves with an intensity unknown in European countries. May 8, 1831, after the setting of the sun, the whole atmosphere seemed on fire; the thunder rolled without intermission, and the lightning cleft the air in all directions. Around the extremities of the flag-staffs, which in Algiers are very numerous, were perceived haloes of a whitish light in the form of plumes, which lasted for nearly a quarter of an hour. Some French officers of engineers and artillery, who were walking with their heads uncovered, on the terrace of Fort Bab-azoon, were astonished to find their hair standing erect, and to see that of their comrades surrounded by a slender lambent flame. When they raised their hands in the air small plumes of light seemed to surround the ends of their fingers, which disappeared as soon as they let their hands fall. To verify the fact completely, these gentlemen ordered ten soldiers upon the terrace, in all of whom the phænomenon was produced at the same moment and with the same intensity. Both officers and soldiers experienced spasmodic twitchings through their limbs, and a general feeling of lassitude, chiefly in their legs.

“Water-spouts are not of unfrequent occurrence along the coast. Father Dan has described, as follows, one which appears to have caused no little trouble and anxiety to himself and his crew:—

“ ‘ Sunday the 24th of September, 1633, being within four miles of Bona, we were suddenly taken with great astonishment, for that the master of our vessel and some of the mariners perceived and showed us, half a league out at sea, a certain meteor which they call a *Sielon*. The accidents to which they told us such had given rise, caused them much apprehension: for they related how that, in the year 1630, a like meteor had upset, in the port of Seide, in the Levant, the polacca of a Marseillaise captain named Pinateau; whence it came to pass that the vessel went to the bottom, the pilot was drowned, and all the other sailors only saved themselves by swimming. This recital caused us no little alarm, and made us have recourse to prayers; and inasmuch as it was told us by the mariners that in such an emergency they were used to repeat the gospel of St. John, which begins ‘ *In principio,*’ &c. I said it out quite loud, and a little after we perceived the meteor diminishing by slow degrees, until it had quite disappeared. They told us afterwards that to direct its course, or cause it to break, they used to load their cannon with ball, which indeed our gunner had already done, with the intention of firing on it. Some others, from a superstitious idea that they could dissolve it, exorcised it with a black-handled knife, making the sign of the cross, and intermixing some prayers.’

“This *Sielon*, and other similar meteors, are usually formed in the autumn season, which was the time of our navigation. As far as I could descry it, a very thick or black cloud, in form of a half-rainbow, or rather of a column, which appeared from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, and the length thereof a hundred cubits. By one of its ends it seemed to touch the clouds, and by the other the sea; whence it drew up into the air, after the manner of a syringe, a great quantity of water, and caused a great boiling up; then, holding itself suspended for a time, it fell, by little and little, turning round like a screw in a spiral line. And thus when this meteor seizes a ship by the masts, it is not incompatible that raising it a little, it should thus upset it, and afterwards sink it by the quantity of water which it would pour therein. In reality, that which we saw, in the opinion of our ship’s company, raised more than five-hundred hogsheads. I say nothing of those which we witnessed after; let it suffice to have fully described this.”

Storms are much more frequent on the chain of the Lesser Atlas, than at any point nearer the sea: thick clouds often cover its summits, and the thunder can be heard to growl, and the lightning seen to flash on them when at Algiers; the weather generally is the most beautiful possible.

Almost every morning the plain of Metijiah is

covered with a dense fog, reaching about quarter-ways up the sides of the Lesser Atlas. As you cross the plain to the northward, the fog gradually disappears, till on the hills immediately surrounding Algiers, it is almost unknown, and never lasts for any length of time. During the months of July and August, 1831, a very remarkable succession of fogs, observed in the south of Europe, at Paris, and even at New York, affected also the north coasts of Africa. "I was then at Oran," says M. Rozet, "and had frequently remarked, without giving the matter any other attention, that the light of the sun was so diminished, as to enable the eye to regard this luminary for several minutes without being fatigued. On the 3d of August, returning to Algiers by sea, we were just in sight of coast, when the fog came on with great intensity, and the sun, extremely diminished in power, showed all objects by a sort of bluish light. We were examining this phenomena with attention, when one of the sailors cried out, that he saw a bird in the sun, and the whole crew, directing their eyes that way, many of them confirmed his assertion. In spite of all my efforts I could discover nothing in the sun's disk, which then appeared of a clear blue colour, and which could be gazed at for a long time, without distressing the sight; but having taken my glass, I discovered, towards the centre, a group of spots,

arranged in the form of a cross. I then repeated the trial with the naked eye, and saw perfectly the spots which the sailors took for a bird. This fact is so much the more remarkable, that, I believe it to be the first time that spots on the sun have been discovered without the aid of telescopes."

The soil is, in general, highly productive; but the agriculture is of the worst and lowest kind. The eye of the spectator wanders over majestic mountains, capable of cultivation to their summits; superb valleys, clothed in the richest natural vegetation; smiling plains intersected by fertilizing streams, along the banks of which, are the most tempting situations for every kind of building; but it vainly seeks for a village, a hamlet, a single hut. Tyranny and oppression are the features of a piratical government; it encourages those who follow a wild and reckless course, hazarding their lives in the cause of murder and rapine on the ocean; but for the arts of peace, the simple pursuits of the shepherd or the husbandman, it has no sympathy;—it waits till the flock be numerous, or the crop flourishing, and then sends a barbarian band to sweep away, as tribute to a lawless chief, the hard-earned rewards of industry and labour. No wonder then, that the Moorish peasant abandons himself to a careless unsettled life; that he limits his exertions to cultivating a few fields, or tending a few head of

cattle, barely sufficient to supply his necessities; but not enough to tempt the cupidity of his rulers. Except then in the immediate vicinity of the cities, there is scarce any cultivation; and that which exists is of the rudest kind. Towards September the husbandman sets fire to the grass and weeds overspreading the plain, on which he means to sow his seed. This is the only attempt at manuring: when the rains of the following month have well softened the ground, he proceeds to scatter over it the grain, which is then ploughed in by a machine of very primitive description:—it is formed of a heavy piece of wood, about five feet long, and as thick as a man's leg, one end of which is fixed obliquely with another piece of wood turned down, and the end of which, intended to serve as a ploughshare, is hardened in the fire. This is the whole construction, which being harnessed to a mule, a horse, or an ox, is drawn over the earth so as just to scratch its surface. In some cases the earth is ploughed first, the seed then thrown on it, and a large bush used to harrow it in. As soon as this process is finished, the wandering family disappear from the spot, and roam through the deserts until May or June, when it is time to return and reap their crop. Two bushels and a half of wheat or barley are commonly used for sowing as much as two oxen could plough in a day, probably equal to about an acre; yet, the re-

turn, even with this imperfect mode of culture, is never less than ten or twelve bushels for one, while in many instances it is much greater. "Muzeratty, one of the late viceroys or beys of the province of Oran, brought once with him, to Algiers, a root that yielded four-score stalks; telling us, that in consequence of a dispute concerning the respective fruitfulness of Egypt and Barbary, the Emeer Hadgi, or prince of the western pilgrims, sent once to the Pasha of Cairo, one that yielded six-score."

The crop is reaped by means of a hook, almost as rude as their plough, and is then immediately carried to the threshing-floor, to separate the grain. For this purpose, the sheaves are untied, and laid flat on an area or space, which has been cleared for the purpose, and where the ground has been hardened, either by beating or by paving it with large stones. Oxen, horses, or mules are then turned in, tied together by the neck to the number of three or four, and whipped round the *nedders*, as they call those floors, until the grain is trod out of the ear¹. It is then separated from the straw and chaff, by tossing it up to the wind with a large wooden shovel (the *fan* or *van* alluded to in Scripture), for grain being heavy, falls down,

¹ This was anciently the general practice among the oriental nations, as appears by the well known Scriptural injunction, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn."

while the chaff, from its lightness, is borne away ; which shows the beauty and accuracy of the simile in Daniel, when the broken pieces of Nebuchadnezzar's image are compared to "the chaff of the summer threshing-floor, carried away by the wind*." After the grain is winnowed, it is immediately bartered by the wandering tribes, for fire-arms, calicoes, muslins, knives, and trinkets ; those that have a settled residence and dwell in huts, generally stow their corn in large subterraneous magazines, called *mattamores*, two or three hundred of which are sometimes together ; the smallest holding four hundred bushels. These magazines are filled up to the level of the ground, and then covered over with clay, so as to be imperceptible to a stranger ; —a custom to which the constant dread of robbery may probably have given rise.

Wheat and barley are the crops most cultivated : oats being rarely, if ever, seen. The horses are fed on barley and straw ; the latter being a substitute for hay, which is not used. Rye is also grown, chiefly in moist lands along the banks of rivers, and yields a very abundant return. In the richest parts of the plain of the Metijiah, and in the vicinity of Constantina, where there is abundance of water, the inhabitants cultivate rice, Indian corn, and particularly a white sort of millet, called *drah*, which

* Dan. ii. 25.

they find very excellent for fattening cattle. The sparrows, linnets, gold-finches, and other birds, are so fond of this kind of grain, that when it grows ripe, the proprietors are obliged to have huts pitched in the fields, and persons constantly employed in preserving it from their attacks. These huts are just run up for the time, of a few branches of trees, covered with reeds or bulrushes, and being deserted the moment the crop is collected, suggested to Doctor Shaw, the sense of the passage in Isaiah, where “a cottage in a vine-yard, and a lodge in a garden of cucumbers,” are mentioned as emblems of the disconsolate state of Jerusalem. The kitchen-gardens are supplied with vegetables of almost every description; and those imported from Europe uniformly increase in size, without deteriorating in quality. From the nature of the climate, also, and from horticulture being a little more advanced than its kindred art—agriculture, a continual succession is ensured. Turnips, carrots, and cabbages are equally good, and common at almost every season of the year. The *lift-el-hashoure*, a small parsnip-like turnip, with fibrous roots, has a taste so agreeably fragrant, that it is held in the highest esteem, and sold by weight. Endive, cress, spinach, beets, and artichokes, are in season from October to June, and then follow in order *calabashes*, *mellow-keahs*, *bedin-janns*, and *tomatas*, each used to give a high

and piquant flavour to their soups and ragouts. Celery and cauliflowers are sown in July, and fit for gathering the February or March following. Doctor Shaw has measured several heads of cauliflower, and found them a yard or more in circumference; and even M. Renaudst, who is constantly depreciating the productions of the country, acknowledges that he himself has seen cauliflowers measuring thirty-nine French inches. Musk and water-melons are gathered about the latter end of June, and by their cooling refreshing flavour, prove a most welcome gift in this parching season. The Arabs and Berbers devour them in great quantities, and they are to be found cultivated on the mountains of the interior, as well as in the plains surrounding Algiers. The principal kinds of pulse grown are peas, beans, lentils, and *garvanços*, a sort of chick-pea; the use of them is universal; with the poor they constitute almost their whole food, while they are always served up as an accompaniment to the pillaws and cuscasowes of the rich. Potatoes are occasionally cultivated in the gardens of Algiers, but do not succeed well. They do not exceed a pigeon's egg in size, but are well flavoured, and two crops of them may be had in the year.

Almost every European fruit, at least within the temperate zone, grows in the Barbary States; but from want of due care several of them are much

degenerated. Apples, pears, plums, apricots, and cherries, seem all to have shared this fate; and neither in size nor in flavour do they equal the same productions in European countries. The apricots have even acquired dangerous qualities, and are found to produce dysenteries, so that Europeans arriving at Barbary in the month of June, and not being aware of this fact, have eaten the fruit freely, and many of them died in consequence. The apples and pears are dry, and hard to eat; two crops of them may be collected, one in March, and the other in October. Peaches are generally hard, and of little flavour. There are no gooseberries, currants, nor hazel-nuts; but to compensate for these deficiencies there are, in the greatest abundance, and of the most exquisite flavour, citrons, nectarines, almonds, bergamots, grapes, jujubes, figs, Indian figs, melons, dates, pomegranates, and, above all, oranges. It is in the plain of Metijiah, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Bleeda, that the orange trees are cultivated in the greatest quantity, and with a care which leaves nothing to be desired. In many farms there are to be found superb orange groves, but none of these are comparable to the plantations surrounding Bleeda, and extending for miles around its walls in every direction. The trees in those gardens are all planted at regular intervals, and tended with the greatest care; the earth is fre-

quently loosened, and water admitted to their roots through little drains dug for the purpose; and so great is their consequent productiveness, that a French army, of eight thousand men, marching amongst them, and eating and destroying as many as they pleased, left the trees still laden with fruit; and returning to the same place a month after, were offered oranges for sale at the rate of six for a half-penny.

The vines are equally productive, though much less care is expended in raising them, except around the houses, where they are beautifully trained along the trellises and verandahs, which they ornament with their graceful tendrils, and their long-trailing festoons. They are to be found in the court-yard that occupies the centre of every Moorish house; but they also grow at large in the fields, without even being attached to poles, but running their rich and laden branches along the ground. The weeds are cleared away in February, and the vine cut down to the stock: this is the whole cultivation it receives. In March it begins to bud out, is in flower the beginning of June, and in the month of July the grapes may be gathered. The vine grows here to an extraordinary size. "I have seen at Oran," says M. Rozet, "in the north court of the new citadel, a vine, planted it is true by a fountain, the trunk of which measured no less than twenty-seven inches in cir-

cumference; the branches formed an arbour, which covered a space of sixteen yards long, by nine broad, or one hundred and forty-four square yards. On this arbour I counted a thousand bunches of grapes, each weighing more than two pounds. It was the most beautiful sight I had ever witnessed." For the truth of this, M. Rozet appeals to all the officers of the twenty-first regiment, who were quartered there at the time, and were eye witnesses of the fact.

The grapes most generally cultivated are the *Chasselas*, something like our Fontainebleau, the Malaga, Muscatel, and a large red grape which does not easily come to perfection. The grapes are generally eaten, or dried and preserved as raisins. Little wine is made, and that not of a good quality, though it is said that, previous to the destruction of the vineyards by the swarm of locusts, a few years ago, wine, equal to the best Hermitage, was yielded by their vintage. Walnuts grow well in Barbary, and particularly on the Lesser Atlas. The fruit is good, but small. Figs of two kinds are found in the orchards about Algiers, and even as far as the south side of the Atlas. At the commencement of March buds appear on the trees, and the fruit is fit to pluck in the month of June. The quantity borne by each tree is very considerable; but, from the little care taken of them, and the

intense heat of the sun, more than three-fourths of them are dried upon the trees, without ever ripening. Inland, where the mountain breeze tempers the extreme heat, and more attention is paid to the trees, the figs come to maturity, and have an excellent flavour. The Berbers bring large quantities of them to the market at Algiers. Almond trees blossom in February: the almonds are collected early in April. The jujube tree is extremely common on all the Barbary coast; it thrives without culture, but is chiefly found in the orchards. This tree does not exceed thirteen to sixteen feet in height: it is one of the earliest trees in spring, and also one of the first to lose its leaves in autumn. These begin to appear in February, and in a few days are succeeded by the blossoms; and in the month of June the jujubes are good to eat. They are then plucked, and carried to market in great baskets: some are dried, but the greater part of them are eat fresh by the Algerines, who esteem them highly. Nor must we forget the dates, which grow, some along the shore, but more abundantly in the interior. The tree which bears them is a species of palm; but as it is generally in a state of nature, and not an object of attention to the gardener, we shall rather omit speaking of it until we come to consider the general botany of the country. The mulberry thrives well, but is

cultivated merely for the sake of its fruit by the Moors and Arabs, who generally give it a place in their gardens. They are too indolent to attempt raising silk worms, which, however, the French have set about now, and with every prospect of a successful result.

We have thus taken a general view of the country, its principal features, its mountains, lakes, rivers, seas, its plains, soil, cultivation, and produce; we have every where seen Providence bountiful, and man neglectful; a beneficent Nature lavishly displaying “her purest of purple, and brightest of green,” while he, for whom all this rich banquet was prepared, turns away with cold ingratitude, and, devoted to the indulgence of his evil passions and guilty desires, tramples underfoot the goods that so abundantly surround him, and lends all his weak efforts to convert this smiling paradise into a waste and howling wilderness.

Our next task must be, to consider man in his several varieties, as found to exist in the country we have attempted to describe.

CHAPTER III.

INHABITANTS.

Several varieties—Berbers—Moors—Arabs—Negroes—Jews—Turks
and Colonglies.

To be unchanged, and unchangeable, is a constant subject of boast, with a sect of Christians who seem to consider, that an abuse is better preserved than reformed: yet even in this poor honour, they must yield to the Mohammedan inhabitants of the Barbary coasts, the genius of whose religion, seems to impose on them this unhappy law:—"So far shalt thou go, and no farther." We, therefore, find that whether we read the history of this country, written by eye-witnesses in the present day, or by those of former ages; whether we peruse the pages of a Rozet, a Fernel, a Benaudot, or turn back to the ancient times of John Battula, Marmol, or Don, we are still studying people, with the same habits, the same manners, the same religion, and the same ignorance, a mighty rock, beyond which the tide of improvement has hurried, laving its base, but failing to shake it from its deep-seated foundations.

The successive conquerors, beneath whose sway,

Northern Africa has fallen, have left behind them permanent memorials of their existence, in the persons of their posterity, who now form part of the population of the country. The Vandals, however, are, we believe, unrepresented*. Violent and impetuous, their invasion resembled the fall of a snow-wreath: desolation, and destruction, and ruin, are in its path, but it is broken in pieces by the very velocity which gives it power; the succeeding summer's sun, causes it to melt away out of sight, and be clean forgotten, it exists but in the peasant's tale, or the historian's page; the country it had overwhelmed, again looks green and flourishing, it has passed from our view, and its place shall know it no more.

The Romans, too, are chiefly remembered for their roads, their aqueducts, their arches, and other public buildings. This great and mighty people, conquered, but rarely colonized countries. They were amongst the nations, but not of them; they inspired awe, not love; they made subjects, not friends. When the greatness of their power diminished, and that strength which had bound "nobles in chains,

* Shaw mentions, that on the mountains of Aures, he found a tribe differing, in many respects, from their neighbours, having complexions, not swarthy as the other Kabyles, but fair and ruddy, together with hair of a deep yellow colour. From these circumstances, he is inclined to consider them the genuine descendants, and only known representatives of the Vandals in the country.

and princes in links of iron," waxed fainter and feebler; those who had long groaned beneath their yoke, and paid them a reluctant homage, soon felt that the grasp which held them was relaxed; they rose in rebellion against the general oppressors of mankind; their cry was "we will not have these men to reign over us." The only tie by which they were held together, was thus broken: the Romans had no interest nor connection to bind them to a country where they could no longer command; aspiring to be masters, they disdained the condition of equals.

Roman features, however, are still occasionally to be traced in the wandering children of the Desert. Mr. Jackson in his description of the inhabitants of West Barbary, says, "in travelling through the Berebber Kabyles of Ait Imure, and Zemur Shul-luh, I noticed many who possessed the old Roman physiognomy;" and we think any one who looks at our figure of a Berber, taken from a drawing made in the country by M. Rozet, will at once be struck by its marked resemblance to a Roman statue. But the greater part of the Berbers, we are disposed to consider as the descendants of the indigenous inhabitants of the country, mixed, perhaps, with their earliest invaders, the Persians and Armenians; in short, the Numidians, under another designation. In this we are confirmed by the wonderful similarity observable

in their manners, their habits, their places of abode. They lead the same wandering life, stopping where their flocks find good pasture, and moving onwards when it is exhausted; they fight on the same irregular desultory manner, dispersing themselves with the rapidity of lightning, on the advance of a regular army, but reassembling and attacking them with considerable boldness, as soon as they had commenced a retreat; their apparent submission, their readiness to revolt, their aptitude for treachery, their ferocity in the onset, and readiness to fly without even intending to give up the struggle, all strongly indicate their identity with the Numidians described by the Roman historian.

The Medes, too, are duly represented. They, after their descent, intermarried with the Libyans, who, in their barbarous mode of speaking, changed the name Medes into Moors. Under this denomination, they have ever since existed; but having settled in the plains and built cities, they have been necessarily more influenced by the successive influxes of new conquerors, so that their blood is by no means so pure as that of the Berbers, who have, under all vicissitudes, maintained a considerable share of independence. The Saracen conquest is not without its virtues. Arab hordes, dwell on the hills, and straggle along the borders of the Sahara, or Sandy Desert. They are almost entirely a

pastoral people : a few have settled and built huts, chiefly in the vicinity of Belida, where they cultivate rice, flax, and some kinds of fruit.

The Mohammedan (Proper) was the last power, previous to the late French invasion, to which Algiers had bowed her head, and Turks were accordingly the ruling caste up to that period.

We have thus four kinds of inhabitants distinguished by origin, habits, and appearance; and if to those we add Jews, attracted by commercial motives; Negroes, originally imported from the south as slaves, but many of whom, either in their own persons, or that of their ancestors, have acquired freedom, and obtained full political rights; and lastly, the Kolooglies, or descendants of Turkish fathers by Moorish mothers, we shall have the seven *varieties* into which M. Rozet divides the population of this kingdom, and which we shall proceed to describe separately, first endeavouring to give an idea of their numbers and relative proportions.

The population of a country in so unsettled a state as Algiers has ever been, cannot be computed with much accuracy. The following estimate of its numbers, and the several classes into which it is divided, appears in the *Annales des Voyages*, and may probably be admitted as an approximation, though a considerable addition must be made for

negroes, both free and in slavery, of whom no mention is made:—

Moors and Arabs, agriculturists, artizans, &c.	1,200,000
Wandering Arabs	400,000
Berbers in Villages	200,000
Jews	30,000
Turks and Renegadoes, ruling all the rest	20,000
Kolooglies—descendants of the above ..	20,000

Total .. 1,870,000

It may be well to state as a preliminary, that by the word *variety* here, we mean nothing more than we have already expressed, viz: a group of men agreeing amongst themselves, and differing from others, in circumstances of origin, appearance, and habits. Of the general or scientific application of the term,—we would be understood not to speak at present.

CHAPTER IV.

BERBERS.

Origin—Appearance—Language—Habitations—Underground Granaries—Furniture—Dress—Of women—Possessions—Food—Industry—Commerce—Mode of seeking employment—Warlike spirit—Mode of fighting—Manners and dispositions—Religion—Marabouts—Superstitions—Anecdotes—Funerals—Marriages—General character.

“THE Kabyles,” says Doctor Shaw, “from their situation and language, (for all the rest of the country speak the Arabic tongue,) seem to be the only people of these kingdoms, who can bear the least relation to the ancient Africans. For notwithstanding the great variety of conquests to which the low and cultivated parts of this country have been so often subject, yet it is more than probable that all, or the greater part of the mountainous districts, were, from their rugged situation, in a great measure left free and unmolested. Whilst the *Nomades*, therefore, of the plains, and the inhabitants of such cities and villages as were of easy access, submitted by degrees to the loss of their old language, and to the introduction of such new laws and customs, as were consequent on these invasions, those who retired to the mountains, and there

formed themselves into *kabyléah*, i. e. *clans*, may be supposed to have been the least acquainted with those novelties."

Kabyles, then, is the Algerine name for the people we call Berbers, and who are to be found inhabiting the whole chain of the Lesser Atlas, from the kingdom of Tunis, to the empire of Morocco. In person they are of the middle height; their complexion a clear brown, often verging on black, from constant exposure to the weather; their hair dark and smooth, in some rare cases fair: they are all thin, but extremely powerful and nervous; their slender body is symmetrically formed, and presents a gracefulness and elegance, such as is now only met with in ancient statues. Their head is more globular than that of the Arabs; their features less prominent, but still sufficiently well marked; the whole air has something wild, and even fierce; they are extremely active, and very intelligent. M. Kaler, who had many of them in his service, while he was at Algiers, says that they have sociable manners and happy dispositions.

The language spoken by the Berbers, and which presents little affinity with any other known tongue, is termed *Showiah*. The authors of the Universal History thought they could trace in it the same roots as in the Hebrew and Arabic, but this Doctor

Shaw, who was well versed in both these languages, denies, and strengthens his opinion by giving a vocabulary of Showiah words. Jackson also asserts, that it differs from the Arabic more than any two languages of Europe differ from each other, and thinks that it may be a dialect of the ancient Carthaginian. Most of the tribes who inhabit the northern slope of the Lesser Atlas, and are, therefore, in constant communication with the Arabs of the plain, speak or understand Arabic; but those who live retired in the interior of the mountains, understand only their own mother tongue. Both Arabs and Berbers are contained under the common term, *Bedouins* or *Bedoweens*, used at Algiers, to express all those people who dwell along the plain, whether in cabins or under tents; and the Berbers came to be included, in consequence of their habit of descending frequently from the mountains to plunder in the plains, particularly when they learned that a caravan was to pass that way, on which occasions they united in large bodies to attack it. This had become such a regular practice in 1831, that large bands of them were seen waiting, a little outside the walls, to plunder the Arabs, and others, who were returning from market with the produce of their cattle, or other merchandize. In consequence, the French general commanded that the

merchants should be allowed to come armed as far as the outposts, there to lay down their arms, and resume them again on their return. They then formed themselves into companies for their mutual protection, and many skirmishes ensued between them and the robbers.

The *gurbies*, or huts, of the Berbers are generally raised with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or else they are built out of the materials of some adjacent ruin, or with square cakes of clay, baked in the sun. They seldom exceed ten feet in height, are entered through a low and narrow door, and for windows have small holes in the wall, rarely furnished with a piece of glass. The whole interior forms but one room, a corner of which is allotted to the fowls, calves, and kids. Sometimes four or five of these huts are built together, enclosing a square courtyard, into which they all open. That through which you enter the court-yard is generally formed into two rows of stalls, with a passage between; the others serve as habitations for the family, and storehouses for the crops. Much neatness is generally observed round these dwellings, and in their vicinity are often found the *Matumores*, or great subterranean granaries, before described. The French soldiers found several of these at Beni-Sala, with a passage leading from the interior of the house; they were filled with dried fruits, and large

pots of baked clay, containing honey, oil, melted butter, dried legumes, and *cus cassowe*¹. In most of the apartments were large earthenware jars, six feet in height, fixed against the wall, or between wooden pillars, by means of iron hoops. They were filled with corn, which was got out by means of an opening left at the bottom. Bee-hives were occasionally seen in the groves around their houses, and were constructed of cork, or reeds bound together.

The whole furniture of a Berber house consists of two stones to grind his corn, some rudely made reed baskets, a few earthenware vessels, one dirtier than another, with bulrush mats, and sheep-skins, laid on the floor, and which serve them as beds. Sometimes there is a platform, at each end of the room, of timber, or masonry, raised to the height of about two feet, on which they spread their sheep-skins, but nothing resembling a bedstead is ever seen. Accustomed to this hard lying, the Berbers, when they come to Algiers, generally prepare themselves for repose by lying down on the pavement in the streets, only taking care to envelop their heads in the folds of the woollen robe which they usually wear. The danger of a sun stroke has

¹ This is a favourite preparation of wheat-flour granulated. It is found to be very nutritive, and is either eaten alone, boiled by steam, or along with butter, mutton, fowls, and vegetables. When the grains of *cus cassowe* are large, then the composition is called *hamza*.

probably indicated this precaution. Another part of the furniture must not be forgotten. On the advance of the French through the country, every house they entered was found to contain a copy of the Koran, fairly written and illuminated. In flying, the inhabitants had probably left this sacred book behind, hoping it might preserve their houses from the violence of the soldiers. There are no mosques in the country occupied by the Berbers; in place thereof we find the tombs of *Marabouts*, a species of saints, whom we shall describe more at length when treating of their religion and superstitions.

The dress of the Berbers is extremely simple. It consists of a woollen shirt, with very short sleeves, fitting closely to the body, and resembling the Roman tunic. A girdle confines it round the loins; and this girdle, which is long, and handsomely embroidered, has one end stretched up to serve as a purse, which explains the Roman phrase, "*Qui perdidit zonam.*" The Turks, who also wear this girdle, farther use it, by fixing therein their knives and poniards, while the secretaries suspend in it their ink-horn. Over this tunic is worn the *hayk*, which is a piece of cloth about five feet wide, and five or six yards long, folded round the body like the ancient *toga*, and forming a drapery at once simple and elegant. For any active exertion, however, it is inconvenient, and in such cases is

either thrown aside, or fastened by a band round the middle, whence the Scripture phrase of “having our loins girded.” In cold weather both Arabs and Berbers adopt an outer covering, called *burnoose*. This is a large thick woollen cloak, woven in one piece, straight round the neck, occasionally fringed at the bottom, with a hood falling over the left shoulder, but which can be drawn up over the head, and retained there by means of a circlet or band, whence it is supposed was originally derived the idea of a diadem. The Berbers seldom cover the head, except from rain; their arms and legs are also in general naked, except that the chiefs wear red boots, with spurs, on grand occasions, particularly when they are going to war. The dress of the women differs little from that of the men; they do not wear the burnoose, but throw the hayk loosely over their heads without confining it. They never veil themselves like the Moorish women, and their long tresses are suffered to flow, at freedom, down their backs. They wear large earrings of gold, silver, copper, or iron, according to their station and wealth; and mark several parts of their bodies, particularly their legs and arms, with figures of different colours, drawn with much regularity. Finally, they dye their nails, the palms of their hands, and soles of their feet, with *henna*, which tinges them of a reddish hue.

Corn, fruits, flocks, and herds, constitute a Berber's riches, and supply him with food. M. Rozet, who mixed much with those that frequented the market at Algiers, has observed them prepare their favourite dish in the following manner: "On three stones they placed an earthen pot, beneath which they kindled a fire with small pieces of wood. Into the pot they threw a little mutton-fat, or bad oil, with tomatas, onions, long pepper, green maize, many sorts of aromatic herbs, and, lastly, the meat, generally mutton, or fowl, cut into very small portions. The pot, thus filled, was covered with an earthen platter, perforated with many holes at the bottom, and piled as full as it could hold with cuscussowe. The fire below being then briskly kept up, the pot boiled, and, the steam ascending through the perforated platter, dressed the cuscussowe perfectly. The whole was then turned out together on a large dish, and the company, squatting around it, helped themselves, using their right hands in place of spoon, knife, or fork. When the repast had terminated, a pitcher of water was handed round, of which they each drank, and washed their mustachios: then they wrapped their heads up in their robes, and lay down to sleep on the spot where they had eaten.

The Berbers are probably the most industrious

of all the inhabitants of Barbary. From the mines in their mountains they extract lead, copper, and iron; they understand how to separate the metal from the dross, and how to make the iron after melting malleable. They manufacture fire-arms, implements of husbandry, and domestic utensils, in a rude manner, for which they find ready sale amongst the Moors and Arabs. They know how to convert iron into steel, and make knives, sabres, and other cutting instruments, of rough appearance, but good quality. They even make gunpowder for their own use, which is highly esteemed at Algiers; and this would appear to indicate a greater advance in art than the Berbers are generally allowed credit for. They also make a blackish soap from their olive oil, and the ashes of alkaline marine plants. The women aid their husbands in the labours of the field, and, during winter, spin the wool, and weave the cloth, which forms the hayk, a dress common to both sexes. They also weave a large web of linen, which answers for many uses. The tribes who dwell on the borders of the plain, or in the deep valleys of the mountains, have quantities of cattle. Their sheep are small, and bear little wool; goats are numerous, and their flesh and milk are much used as food; black cattle, not large; but their mules and asses are the most excellent in all

Barbary. They have no camels, these animals not being adapted to the mountainous tracts they inhabit; fowls they possess in great abundance.

Their system of agriculture is much superior to that pursued by the Arabs and Moors; and their orchards, vineyards, and olive-yards are kept in the best possible order. They practise irrigation to a great extent, and even make around their orange trees little circular reservoirs, into which the water is occasionally admitted. The olive, however, is the object of their peculiar care; they understand grafting, and managing it so as to procure extremely fine fruit¹. The olives are employed

¹ Of the mode of planting olive trees in the province of Susa, Mr. Jackson gives the following account. "The plantations of olive trees in this province are very numerous; there is an extensive one in the neighbourhood of Messa, the trees of which are of great size and beauty, and are planted in a very whimsical and peculiar manner. When I visited Messa, I inquired the cause of their being so arranged, and learnt from the Viceroy's aid-de-camp, who attended me, that one of the kings of the dynasty of Saddia, being on his journey to Soudan, encamped here with his army; that the pegs with which the cavalry picketted their horses were cut from the olive trees in the neighbourhood, and that these pegs being left in the ground on account of some sudden cause of departure of the army, the olive trees in question sprung from them. I confess, while I acknowledged the ingenuity of the idea (for the disposition of the trees exactly resembled the arrangement of cavalry in an encampment), I treated it as fabulous; some time afterwards, however, the following circumstance occurred, which induced me to think the story was not only plausible, but very credible. Having occasion to send for some plants for a garden I had at Agadeer, or Santa Cruz, the *foulah* (gardener) brought, amongst other things, a few bits of wood, without any root or leaf, about eighteen inches long, and three inches in circumference, which he with a large stone knocked into the ground. Seeing the fellow thus employed, I asked him what he meant by trifling in that

in making oil, which has always a sour taste, probably because the fruit is suffered to ferment before it is pressed. This oil is used in cookery, in making soap, and in preserving olives themselves. For this purpose jars are filled with olives, quite ripe; oil is then poured in to cover them, and the jars are stopped with plaster, or potters' clay. In this state the fruit will keep for a year. They are so acid, that an European can scarcely bear them, yet are they looked on as a delicious relish in all the Algerine provinces.

Oil is the principal object of traffic with the Berbers. They bring it into market in goat-skins or sheep-skins, tied up at the legs and neck, and fastened one at each side, on mules or asses. These bags soon become saturated with oil, so that their owners, who are obliged frequently to handle them, are generally greased all over. The oil market is held in the quarter of Algiers called Bab-azoonah, in the immediate vicinity of the western gate. Here the oil is emptied from the skins into large earthen jars, out of which it is measured to the buyers.

way? 'I am not trifling,' said he, 'but planting your pomegranate trees.' I began to take them out of the ground, but some persons who were near, assuring me that it was the mode in which they were always planted, and that they would (with the blessing of God) take root, and shoot forth leaves the next year, I was at length prevailed on to leave a few in the ground, merely for experiment, and they certainly did take root, and were in a fair way of becoming trees when I left Santa Cruz."

In addition to oil, they bring in large quantities of wax, as they keep abundance of bees. This, however, was a royal monopoly, so that they were obliged to sell it all to the Dey, at a price fixed by himself, which was never very extravagant. Algiers was in a great measure supplied by the Berbers with cattle and fruits. Dates particularly they brought even from the borders of the desert, a march of ten or twelve days. Apes, with the skins of lions and tigers¹, formed also part of their merchandize. By these means, and as their purchases were very few, consisting chiefly of pieces of cotton, and trinkets for their wives, many of them accumulated much money, which, however, was of not much use to them, as they buried it in the earth. They always manifested much anxiety to purchase fire-arms from the French; but this of course was strictly prohibited.

Several Berbers come to Algiers, and hire themselves as gardeners, domestics, or gate-porters to the Turks, the Moorish merchants, or the European consuls. They are found to be excellent servants, and their integrity and fidelity may be fully depended on. When they wish to descend from their mountains with this view, they collect in as

¹ Or perhaps more properly panthers. MM. Perret and Desfontaines seem to doubt there being any tigers in the country.

numerous a body as possible, and then go to seek a marabout, under whose protection they place themselves. This is rendered necessary by the constant feuds between neighbouring tribes, which would render them liable to be attacked on their way, were it not for the presence of the holy man, who is so respected, as to ensure all in his train a safe passage. They generally travel in bands of about fifty or sixty, each headed by a Marabout, who undertakes this office for a certain stipulated payment: he also probably gains something on his return, as the Berbers are ardently attached to their native country, and constantly avail themselves of such opportunities to revisit it. Should they, however, while engaged in the cities, learn that their tribe is at war with another, or with the Arabs, nothing can detain them. They instantly set out, without waiting for protection, and encounter all risks in order to assist their friends in the combat. These wars are engaged in on the most trifling causes, such as a sheep stolen, a tree cut down, an insult offered; but they seldom proceed to any very violent extremities. Each tribe is commanded by its sheikh¹, as is also the case amongst the Arabs; and sometimes many tribes unite themselves to-

¹ From an Arabic word signifying *elder*; a person conspicuous either for power, piety, or knowledge.

gether under a sheikh of more than ordinary prowess, who is then distinguished as *Sheikh-el-Kibeer*, the great lord or elder. Such was Benzahmum, who caused the French troops so much loss in their late expedition. No sooner had he descended from the mountains, than both Berbers and Arabs flocked to his standard, and followed his orders. With more than six thousand men, he hung on the rear of the army in their advance against the Bey of Tittery, cut off all stragglers, intercepted supplies, made a desperate attack on Bleeda, which the French had garrisoned with two battalions to protect their retreat, and would certainly have made himself master of it, had not general Clausel himself arrived in time to its assistance.

This warlike spirit enabled the Berbers constantly to maintain a considerable degree of independence ; so that when the Dey wished to collect a tribute from them, his usual plan was to wait until they had driven their flocks for pasture into the plains, and then send a party on a forage, to seize as many cattle, and take as many prisoners as possible, for whom he always exacted a high ransom. When they were aware of the approach of the troops, they always prepared for a sturdy resistance, and even if they were overcome, did not fail to take vengeance by attacking and pillaging some

of the Dey's towns. Their disputes amongst themselves were generally fought out by skirmishes, the warriors, armed with gun, yatagan, and sometimes a brace of pistols, ensconcing themselves behind rocks or trees, and endeavouring to annoy their adversary by distant shots. Occasionally when the cause of dispute was more serious, they both descended into the plain, and a regular pitched battle was engaged in, the vanquished flying to some inaccessible position, and leaving their wives, their flocks, and other possessions a prey to the victors. But more usually the Marabouts interfered to prevent matters coming to this extremity, and a compensation was agreed on to the injured party.

Their onset is furious and dangerous, though they observe neither order nor regularity. Each tribe has its own standard bearer, selected as being one of the bravest soldiers. When they intend an attack, their standard bearers march in front, and the others follow. The horsemen come down in full gallop, and the footmen mixed with them, two or three often running along with each horse, and holding by the saddle or the tail. Arrived within a certain distance the standard bearers halt, and the whole tribe collecting round them, discharge their musquets, then retire to load, and returning,

fire again. In this way a constant galling discharge is kept up, while if any body of troops advance against them, they at once disperse, flying in all directions. They are most dangerous at a mountain pass, which they defend with great obstinacy; in this way they have even stopped the Bey of Constantina, when conveying tribute to Algiers at the head of a considerable force, and obliged him to pay them a certain sum annually, before they would allow him to proceed.

Their excessive cruelty appears to be the great stain on their character. All prisoners taken in war are murdered, after having previously undergone the most excruciating tortures. Nor, indeed, is this cruelty exercised on their enemies only; strangers, whom curiosity or misfortune may have brought to their mountains, are equally its victims. The Berbers who dwell on the high and rocky coast, from Cape Metafuz eastward to Itora, are constantly on the look out for shipwrecks; and as soon as a vessel has gone ashore, they rush down from the hills, murder the crew, seize the cargo, and break up the hull.

Jackson mentions an ingenious stratagem by which a sailor saved his ship, which had gone ashore on the west coast of Africa. The vessel was stranded, but not much injured; this man, who

was a Spaniard, and accustomed to fish there from the Canaries, knew that if they appeared in distress, they would certainly be sacrificed and their ship burned. He, therefore, advised the captain to let go an anchor, as if the ship were riding and in safety. This the captain did, and when the Arabs came down from the mountains to reconnoitre, he coolly desired them go fetch their gums and other commodities, for that he had come to trade with them, and would stay a few days. Meantime the carpenter was hard at work below, and some temporary repairs having been made, the vessel floated at the return of the tide, when they instantly weighed anchor and set sail, leaving the astonished Arabs to wonder at their ingenuity.

Of religion the Berbers have little, save what consists in a blind obedience to their Marabouts. These men, whose name and order originated with the Arabs, now receive respect not only from them, but from the Berbers, Moors, Colougliers, Turks, and even Jews. They are generally persons of an austere, rigid life, continually employing themselves either in counting over their beads, or else in meditation and prayer. This saintship goes by succession, and the son is entitled to the same reverence and esteem with the father, provided he can keep up and maintain the same gravity and decorum.

Some of them also share in the same reputation as their prophet, of receiving visions, and conversing with the Deity ; whilst others who pretend to work miracles, are endowed with gifts which Mahomet himself durst not pretend to. They live in retired situations in a sort of cell, leading the lives of hermits, and the degree of mystery with which they thus envelop themselves, adds not a little to their reputation. Doctor Shaw vainly attempted to see a miracle worked by one of the most celebrated of them, Sydi Ben Mukha-lah, who was said to have a solid piece of iron, which at his command would give the sound and produce the effects of a cannon ; but he was more successful in seeing another of them, Sydi Ashoure, who was celebrated for vomiting fire. “ This operation, as he performed it, I saw several times ; the first instance whereof did indeed very much surprise me. For being in a mixt company, and little regarding him, I observed, all on a sudden, his mouth in a blaze, and his whole body seemingly distorted with agonies. But by keeping my eye more carefully upon him, when the same was repeated a second time (for he had several of these pretended ecstasies), I plainly discovered the whole cheat and contrivance. For during the time that his head and his hands lay concealed under his burnoose, when he pretended to be conversing with the Deity, he was actually

lighting the fire; and accordingly, when he was ready to display it, such a quantity of smoke attended his head and hands on withdrawing them from under his burnoose, there was so strong a smell likewise of tow and sulphur, besides some threads of the former, that were unfortunately engaged to his beard, that none but an ignorant and bigoted people could be deceived by the imposture." The Arabs, however, thought otherwise: they declared that he had wrought a great miracle, and the *ma kan shy kiff hoo*, "there was none like him."

The Marabouts are generally supported by the gifts of the faithful, who come to consult them, or to demand their prayers. The greater part of their votaries are females, whom they are permitted to see alone and unveiled. They have even free access to the harems; and should they so far forget their office as to make an improper use of these privileges, the wife immediately tells her husband, who, so far from exhibiting his usual jealousy or anger, bows his head to the earth, and thanks the Prophet for the signal honour done to his family. If a Marabout requires any thing, he sends for it to the nearest person, whom he knows to possess it, without fear of being refused. He enters, at pleasure, any garden, shop, or private house, and takes possession of whatever he may fancy, to the great

gratification of the possessor, who looks on this as a sure presage of good fortune.

Occasionally one of these men is found to be a person of information and education, but a greater number are fools, or become so from the continual adoration which is paid them. Sometimes they take the whim of walking into the city, wrapped in a wretched blanket, their feet and head bare, and a long rod, held like a pilgrim's staff, in their hands. "I once saw one in Algiers equipped in this manner," says Dan, "who used his rod to strike every one he met. It is true that he did not hit very hard, and that those whom he thus struck esteemed themselves happy, for the belief prevailed that every blow so received was a meritorious work, which released them from so many sins; insomuch that, if this hypocrite passed by any without striking, they straightway ran up to him, kissed his hands and feet, and even his wretched rags, imploring him for a blow." It is rather singular that this worthy Father Dan, who could so clearly see the absurdity of considering blows inflicted by a Mohammedan saint as passports to the kingdom of heaven, should not with equal readiness perceive the inefficacy of scourgings and mortifications, so often prescribed by himself and his brethren, in their character of Christian priests.

The Berbers place the most implicit reliance on

their Marabouts, and undertake nothing without their advice. Each Marabout has his own particular sect, to whom he is judge, physician, astrologer, priest, prophet, and almost god. To give an idea of the length to which their influence extends, M. Rozet relates this anecdote: "When we marched on the expedition to the Atlas mountains, under General Clauzel, we took, as guide, in passing Bleeda, a young Marabout, intelligent and active, who enjoyed a high reputation in the district through which we were to pass. After the victory of the defile of Tenia, the enemy was observed collecting in our rear; and next morning large masses of Berbers advanced to the attack. Our general immediately despatched the Marabout, who set out accompanied by a single soldier, for whose life he undertook to be answerable. The Berbers had reached our rear-guard, and made their preparations for an assault, when the Marabout appeared. With a single gesture he arrested all their actions, and, going amongst them, spoke for some time with their chiefs; he then returned, and announced to the general that hostilities were at an end. In fact, all the groups, who were on the march to attack us, halted, laid down their arms, and remained watching our movements, until the whole army had defiled unmolested."

We give this anecdote from the Narrative of

M. Rozet; how far it is creditable to the French general is not our business to inquire.

The veneration with which the Marabouts are regarded does not terminate with their lives, but is extended even beyond the grave. When they die, they are interred with great pomp; on the tomb is placed a shrine, beautifully wrought, and the whole is inclosed in a square building, with a round dome, built of a solid masonry, and white-washed. Within this chapel a lamp is kept always burning, and the shrine is surrounded with the banners of the several tribes by whom the saint was held in honour. The faithful, who come to pray for benefits, suspend their offerings to the shrine, or on hooks, placed round the walls for that purpose. If the deceased saint have been of great celebrity, a young Marabout is generally found to take charge of his tomb, and enjoys all the offerings as a reward for his trouble. Near the tomb is always planted a palm-tree, and round it, frequently, a grove, which is sacred, and within the precincts of which, no Musulman ever carries an axe. To be interred near a Marabout is an honour, reserved for his own immediate family, if he have left any, and for persons of high distinction, who pay dearly for the privilege. The cemeteries of the Berbers are generally placed on elevated plains, and never in valleys, or on the

sides of the mountains. A Marabout¹, surrounded by trees, is generally placed in the centre, and those that lie nearest are supposed to have the most honourable situation. Flowers are cultivated on the graves, which are frequently visited, especially by the women, and invocations made to the person deceased.

The Berbers marry early; the females at about twelve, and the males at fifteen. As the women here are not shut up and veiled, as amongst the Moors and Turks, an opportunity for forming attachments is allowed; nor does a youth marry without ever having seen the face of his bride. Marriage is not a religious ceremony amongst the Berbers, but merely a civil contract. When a young Berber has become captivated, he goes to the father of his mistress, and begs her for his spouse. The father, in reply, demands how many head of cattle, or how much money he will give in exchange; the young man makes his offer, the father rejects it as too low, until, after much bargaining, they at last fix on a price, varying, according to the beauty of the bride, or the young man's attachment, from about three to nine pounds of our money. When the bargain is finished, the

¹ The term is indifferently applied to the saint himself, and his shrine after death.

father and his intended son-in-law go before the nearest Marabout, and demand his sanction. This he gives, or withholds, according to his caprice, and sometimes the young man is obliged to gain his consent by a *douceur*. When all these difficulties are surmounted, the bridegroom goes to the house of his intended with the sum of money, or heads of cattle, agreed on, which he gives to the father; the young girl is then delivered to him, he takes her to his hut, and she becomes his wife, without any further ceremony. A Berber is allowed to marry as many as four wives, if he is able to support them. The women employ themselves in the cares of their household, they spin flax and wool, and even assist in cultivating the fields; they also accompany their husbands to war, but not on their ordinary journeys. Divorce is permitted, and dislike is considered a sufficient reason. The husband need only go to the nearest Marabout, and satisfy him of his causes for repudiation. Immediately after he orders his wife to leave his hut, and she returns to her father, carrying nothing with her but the clothes on her person. The money, however, which was paid for her is not returned unless she marries again, in which case the second husband is obliged to reimburse the first in the full amount.

In this way a man may have as many wives as

he can purchase, for when one is sent back he is allowed immediately to take another in her place.

The Berbers, as a people, are sober and abstinent. Their food is simple, and their drink water. They cultivate a little land, but possess immense pastures, on which are numerous flocks and herds.

CHAPTER V.

THE MOORS.

Who were the Moors—Their residence—their general appearance—
Dress—Women—Painting the eye-lids—Children—Coffee-houses—
Meals—Cookery—Agriculture—Magistracy—Domestic habits—Per-
fidy—Singular anecdote—Theft—Unsocial disposition—Want of
natural affection—Patience—Military exercise—Forms of salutation
—Moorish letter—Priests and saints—Moorish calendar—Mode of
taking a second, third, or fourth wife—Treatment of wives—
Divorce—Anecdotes—Jealousy—Punishment of adultery—Melan-
choly incident—Affection of Moorish women for their children—
Forms observed at child-birth—Curious superstition—Naming child
—Circumcision—Education—Final destination.

PROBABLY of equal antiquity in the country with the Berber tribes, though by no means retaining the same purity of blood, or identity of habits, are the Moors, who form the great bulk of the population of Barbary. We have before mentioned Salust's account of their origin, and the mode in which their name was derived, by corruption, from *Medes*.

There are many objections to this derivation, and some more probable, are suggested by Shaw, Bochart, Hyde, and others; yet, as there is no certainty attached to any of them, and as our business is rather with the people, as we find them, than with their name or origin, we shall take leave to decline entering on the discussion, remitting those who are curious in such matters, to the authors above mentioned, where also they will find much learning, and numerous further references.

We may, however, say, that as the Berbers were generally inhabitants of the hills, so were the Moors of the plains and sea-coast. Thence it came to pass that these latter felt the effect of every change of power, and were necessarily much influenced in their manners and habits by each successive conqueror. Christians at least in name, under the Byzantine sway, they embraced the creed of Islam¹, when over-run by Arab conquerors, and, of course, have retained it under Turkish power. European renegades, who have at any time settled in Barbary, have intermarried with Moorish women, and their descendants are ranked amongst the Moors; and as at different times, Greeks,

¹ The Mohammedans love to call their religion *Islamism*, from the Arab *salama*, or *aslama*, to enter into the state of salvation; hence *Islam*, the saving religion, and *muslemon*, or *musolemon*, he that believeth therein. —*Prideaux: Life of Mahomet.*

Spaniards, Italians, French, and even Germans, have thus become naturalised, it is evident that pure Moorish blood can scarcely now be said to exist. There are, however, a certain number of the higher families, who have not contracted alliances with strangers, and amongst whom we may find the characteristics of the primitive race. In these the men are generally above the middle height, of a stately port, and grave demeanour; their hair black, complexion swarthy, yet more approaching fair than brown; the face full, but the features not so prominent as in the Arabs or Berbers. They have generally the nose rounded, the mouth of moderate size, the eyes large, but without much vivacity, the muscles well developed, and the body rather inclined to obesity. The women are in proportion with the men; they have all black hair, and magnificent eyes; some of them are very beautiful. They never wear stays, and, as plumpness is considered a great beauty, they use all their efforts to attain it, and are generally of a very gross figure, and particularly large about the hips. From their earliest childhood also their breasts are drawn in order to elongate them, so that before thirty they hang half way down the body. The Moorish children are in general well made, intelligent, lively, and extremely active. In growing up they lose these characters, become slow in all their move-

ments, and of a grave disposition. At birth they are as fair as European children, and many of their women, who are carefully kept in and veiled, preserve this fairness through life. In general children begin to lose it at about three or four years of age, when they assume the brownish or swarthy hue. The Moors dwell all in houses, and are found collected in cities or villages; some few, remote from the rest, inhabit the sides of the hills, valleys, or cultivated plains; but they are in such situations constantly plundered and murdered by any Arab or Berber horde that may chance to stray that way. Their houses, constituting the greater part of every city, will be described more at length in the following chapter.

The dress of the Moors is nearly the same as that of the Turks. The men have their heads shaved, and wear a turban, the differences in the form, number of folds, or materials of which, indicate corresponding differences in rank and wealth. Upon their bodies they wear a shirt, fitting close, but falling outside their drawers, which are very loose, girded round the waist, and not descending much lower than the knee; over this is placed a vest, or sometimes more than one, richly embroidered with gold or silk, according to the means of the wearer, and over all a *caftan*, or coat, buttoning down the front, and furnished with long loose sleeves.

When going out they throw carelessly, sometimes gracefully, around them a *hayk*, such as we have described before, made of white cotton, silk, or wool, and in winter time they wear the *burnoose*; they never wear stockings, but on their feet indifferent slippers, called *babouches*, usually of a yellow colour. They carry a long girdle of silk or wool, dyed of different colours, around their loins, and in it is stuck the yatigan, the pistols, and the purse. Their tobacco-pouch is suspended to one of their buttons, and their pipe is almost always in their hands.

The toilette of a Moorish woman is a matter of no little importance; in fact, it seems to be the whole occupation of her thoughts, and the great business of her life. They assemble constantly at the baths, the only place where they enjoy any freedom or relaxation, and spend whole hours there bathing, using depilatories to remove superfluous hair, and conversing with their neighbours. A woman of rank frequents the bath at least twice a week, and it is always used as preparatory to dressing themselves on any grand occasion. The hair then is braided and suffered to fall down over the back until, in many instances, it reaches the ground; and as this is a circumstance, considered by the Moorish women a particular ornament, they occasionally add false locks, where nature has not been very

bountiful. The head then is dressed with the *sarmeah*, a kind of tiara made of thin gold or silver plates, artfully cut through and engraved, so as to resemble lace, while the lower part of it is thickly studded with pearls or precious stones. From under this in front, but one or two locks are visible, which they take care to stain of the deepest black, if not naturally so; the hair that hangs down behind is so interwoven, and covered with ribands, that its colour cannot be noticed. Over the *sarmeah* is thrown a handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linen, which is suffered to fall carelessly backwards. The ears are perforated with many holes, in which are placed large rings of gold or silver; in addition to these, the Algerine women wear immense pendants, falling down as far as the shoulders, and composed of diamonds, pearls, and globules of gold, arranged according to the taste of the artist, and often presenting an appearance of great brilliancy and splendour. The neck and arms are adorned with several circlets of gold, often enriched with precious stones, or alternated with strings of pearls. The fingers are laden with rings, some containing two settings, and around the ankles are placed gold bracelets, if we may so term them, of great thickness, and richly chased. The eyebrows are stained of the deepest black, and between them is painted a small blue flower. The inside

of the eye-lids and the eye-lashes are also blackened, and for this purpose, they use the powder of lead, made into a paste with some perfumed adhering matter, and laid on by dipping in it a small bodkin of wood or silver, about the thickness of a quill, which is afterwards placed between the eye-lids, across the ball of the eye, and then drawn slowly through them. This is a custom of great antiquity, and prevalent in a great number of oriental nations. The effect of it is to enlarge the apparent size of the eyes; and allusions to it are common in many of the classical authors, and even in the Bible, where the description of Jezebel painting her face, should, as Doctor Shaw observes, be more properly translated, "*she adjusted (or set off) her eyes with the powder of lead ore.*"

Among other curiosities that were taken out of the catacombs of Sahara, belonging to Egyptian women, was a joint of the common reed, containing a bodkin such as we have described, and about an ounce of this powder, which shows the fashion to have prevailed even in those early times.

But this is not all the painting to which the Moorish women at Algiers are subject. If there be any deficiency of complexion, it is made up by a liberal use of rouge, and the nails, palms of hands, and soles of feet are stained of a deep red, with the juice of the henna. Before leaving the bath the

whole body has been covered over with a sort of soapy earth, which has a remarkable power in softening and purifying the skin; and perfumes, principally musk and the essence of roses, are used in great abundance. The first article of their clothing is a chemise of fine silk, white or striped, with loose open sleeves, embroidered at the end with gold, and low in the front to display the neck, ornamented as we have described. Over this is placed a vest, fitting close to the shape, and fastening in front with a number of little gold fillagree buttons, or clasps. The small gauze, or muslin, drawers barely reach the knee, and are fastened round the waist by a magnificent girdle. A large silken shawl is carried behind the body, and gracefully knotted in front, forming a sort of robe, which leaves one of the legs uncovered; finally, the feet, of dazzling whiteness, are scarcely contained in little slippers of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, while a broad bar of the same metal runs across the instep. M. Rozet, who has had an opportunity of seeing this costume, which is only worn on state occasions, pronounces it graceful and magnificent, and the Moorish women thus robed absolutely dazzling.

On ordinary occasions, however, within their houses, they are much more lightly attired. The chemise is the only covering of the upper part of

the body, the short sleeves of which leave the arms uncovered. A short apron in front, and a napkin brought from behind, and knotted, but so short as not to reach even to the knee, leaves a great part of their legs completely uncovered. They generally wear the circlets of gold on their arms and legs as above described, and in this state occupy themselves with their domestic avocations. For going abroad long drawers are put on, reaching to the ancles; the figure is enveloped in two or three mantles, generally of rich stuff; a thick veil is thrown over the head, the feet are thrust into large slippers, of black Morocco leather, and a handkerchief is drawn across the face, so as to leave nothing but the eyes visible. In this state their shape is so completely concealed that M. Renaudot compares them to walking bundles of linen.

The Moorish children are dressed exactly in the same manner as their parents. When the little girls go out they have the face covered. The boys do not wear a turban, or get their heads shaved, until they are about ten or eleven years of age. Previous to that time their hair, as well as that of the girls, is suffered to grow long, and is dyed red with henna, insomuch that, at first, the French supposed all the children in Algiers to have been born with red heads.

The Moors rise early, and do little. As day

dawns, the Muezzin, from the top of every mosque, proclaims, three times, "Come to prayers; it is better to pray than to sleep." This invitation is generally accepted by all those who live in the city, and, after a short devotion, they go to their several occupations. They dine at about ten o'clock, having taken a *shorbah*, or mess of pottage, before going to morning prayer. Their work is then resumed until *asa*, or the afternoon prayers; when all kind of labour ceases, and the shops are shut up. The supper commonly follows the prayers of *magreb*, or sunset; and their devotions being repeated at the setting of the watch, or when it begins to be dark, they take their rest immediately afterwards.

The poor Moors, and those who live in the country, support themselves chiefly on milk, fruit, and several kinds of herbs, which they do not even take the trouble to have seasoned or dressed. When the Barbary figs are ripe, a Moor will gather twenty or thirty of them, sit down by the tree until he has eaten them, drink a cup of water, and then go lie in the shade to sleep the rest of the day, or, squat cross-legged, smoke his pipe, and think about nothing. They all drink coffee, without sugar; and vile stuff it is. A little good coffee, with a quantity of husks and grounds, is put into a large vessel of water, where it is left to boil away. You may have two cups of this for a halfpenny, and it

generally contains as much to eat as to drink. There are many coffee-houses in the cities, and some along the most frequented roads. The Moors of the country come to them in great numbers, squat before the door, where there is always a porch covered with creepers, or, in the grand coffee-houses, a colonnade, with a fountain playing in the centre. Here they sit, pipe in mouth, and pass whole days drinking a few cups of coffee, and seldom saying a word. The women and children, meantime, remain at home, and live as they best can. In towns, the barber's shops divide the company with the coffee-houses, particularly if the barber happens to be a facetious fellow, and a teller of good stories. The more grave and religious, however, of the Moors remain at home in the intervals between public worship, and employ themselves in telling their beads, accompanying each of them with the words, *Staffa-Allah*, "God forgive me." This ceremony is usually gone through in the cross-legged sitting position, or, if more than usual abstraction be required, the devotee sits with his head between his knees, and his face turned towards the ground. Others mutter over certain passages of the Koran, rocking their bodies to and fro all the time; and several of their *thalebs*, or scribes, are so well acquainted with the book that they can write it out from memory, without making a single mistake.

The food of the city Moors is generally better than that of the country. Fowls, butcher's meat, pastry, and cuscussowe form their principal dishes, but occasionally many others are added. Doctor Shaw says, he has seen at some of their festivals above two hundred dishes, whereof forty, at least, were of different kinds. They all feed themselves with their right hand, previously washed, sitting cross-legged, round a mat, or low table, on which the dishes are placed. No use is made of a table cloth, each person contenting himself with a share of a long towel, which is laid round about the mat. Knives and spoons likewise are of little service, for their animal food, being always well roasted or boiled, requires no carving. The cuscussowe, pillau, and other dishes also, which we should reckon as spoon meat, are served up so cool that the company find they may take it in hand without the least danger of burning their fingers. The flesh they tear into morsels, and the cuscussowe they make into pellets, squeezing as much of them both as will make a mouthful. When their food is of a more liquid nature, such as oil, vinegar, honey, &c., they break their bread into little morsels, and dip it into the dish, to sop up the fluid contents, and this is the custom alluded to in the Scripture phrase, "He that dippeth his hand in the dish with me."

As M. Rozet had an opportunity of witnessing,

unobserved, the mode in which the dinner of a person of high rank was conducted, we shall give the account in his own manner : “ One evening having by accident entered the house of the Aga, whose servants seeing my epaulettes, and supposing I came on official business, suffered me to pass, I suddenly saw this officer seated at table with all his staff. Anxious to witness their mode of dining, when unconstrained by the presence of a stranger, I placed myself behind a pillar, and set myself to observe. They were squatted around a very low round table ; many domestics were placed behind them, with cups of silver, and flagons of water in their hands ; one waited on the Aga alone. The first dish that I saw appear was a fowl, surrounded by cuscussowe. As soon as the domestic had placed it on the table, his lordship took the fowl in his hands, tore it into a great number of morsels, helped himself to a wing, and a large handful of cuscussowe, while his officers each followed his example. The other dishes that appeared were served in the same manner ; last of all came fried pastry and sweetmeats, and when these were despatched the servants brought bowls of water and soap. The guests then washed their hands and moustaches, all covered with grease, and wiped them on very clean napkins.” As this seemed like a termination, M. Rozet took leave in the same quiet way as he had entered, though the

servants were very pressing that he should stay and speak with the Aga, whom, they assured him, was now quite at leisure. The Aga supped under the colonnade in front of his apartment: his wives were each served in their own apartments. Shaw states this to be the universal custom; but Rozet says, that a Moor, when he is alone, or has no one with him but his son, will allow his wives to dine with him. Previous to sitting down at any meal, and, indeed, when they enter upon their daily employments, or any other business, they pronounce the word *Bismillah*, "in the name of God;" they also, at the termination of their meals, or when affairs have prospered, say, *Alhandillah*, "God be praised." Moors, as well as Mahomedans, in general, require to have their meat killed by a person of their own religion, who, in performing the operation, turns his face to the south, draws back the animal's head, and saying the words, "In the name of God I kill you," cuts its throat with much skill, so as to ensure the complete drainage of the blood out of the body. The ordinary beverage is pure water, or sherbet, wine and spirituous liquors being forbidden. By some singular gloss or commentary, however, rum had been allowed the Moors previous to the French invasion, but this was seldom indulged in to an unseemly extent: after the settlement of the French amongst them, however, they

appeared to have become less scrupulous, as intoxicated Moors were frequently seen about the streets, and several of them took to wine, and found it very good. The only precaution they take in drinking is, to place themselves in some covered room, or where there may be a shed interposed between them and heaven, in order, as they say, that Mohammed should not see them. The lower order of Moors have no regular meals; but those who are in good circumstances drink coffee, without sugar, and smoke their pipes up to mid-day, when they partake of a substantial repast; their supper is served after the setting of the sun. The intervening time they spend in walking about smoking, or else they go and seat themselves cross-legged in front of a coffee-house, or barber's shop, where they drink many cups of coffee, and hear the news. A few, perhaps, play at chess, sipping coffee as the others. Coffee is, in fact, the universal drink in Barbary; they roast the grain as we do, but, in place of grinding, pound it in a mortar.

The Moors do not eat meat at every meal, nor even every day. Persons of the middle class eat it twice or thrice a week, the rich a little oftener. The winter provisions consist of dried pulse, peas, beans, lentils, cuscussowe, sweetmeats, and dried fruits. Their sweetmeats are made by boiling many kinds of fruit, particularly melons, in grape-juice;

plums and apricots are also preserved, and are found excellent even by strangers. Butter is kept by melting it into earthen crocks, but as they are ill stopped the butter soon becomes rancid, which, however, the natives do not seem to mind. They preserve, in their bad olive oil, cucumbers, long pepper, tomatas, &c., which they always eat with much pleasure, though they may be so pungent and acrid as almost to raise the skin off the palate. But one of their favourite winter stores is the following. In the month of September each family kills as many sheep as its means admit, or its necessities require. When the sheep are skinned the intestines and lungs are taken out, and, after being well cleansed, cut into small morsels, which are placed in the sun to dry on cords, arranged for this purpose. The whole of the flesh is then cut into little morsels, about the size of half a card, and all are then thrown together into a large copper, or bronze cauldron, with the suet taken from the animals, and olive oil. This is let boil for an entire day, occasionally stirring the mixture with a wooden roller; and when the meat seems fully dressed, it is fished up in a large strainer, and packed in earthen pots, well covered over with fat, while the mouth is closed in with plaster, or potter's clay; the vessels are then stowed away, and opened when their contents are required for use. Meat

may be thus preserved for more than a year ; but, from having been boiled with bad oil, has acquired so disagreeable a taste that none but Algerines can eat it. The day the French took Medea, the soldiers were in want of provisions, and finding a great number of these pots in the Bey's house, thought they had got a great feast, and instantly made a sort of ragout out of their contents. It proved, however, so very indifferent that no one could get beyond the second bit. Every time M. Rozet had an opportunity of speaking with the inhabitants of the country respecting this dish they assured him that it was excellent, and that it must be a very poor family indeed which had not at least the flesh of two sheep so preserved for the winter. In all the cities are found shambles, generally kept by negroes ; but in the country every one is obliged to kill for himself. As, however, an entire cow or ox would be too much for a single family, many Moors unite when one of them is to be slaughtered. After the animal has been skinned, and the entrails taken out, and divided into as many parts as there are shareholders, the whole carcase, even including the head and feet, is then cut up into little morsels, which are laid in heaps by the side of the several divisions of intestines ; each co-partner then, taking a branch of a tree, presents it to a little child, who lays it on one of the heaps, and this becomes the property of him to whom the branch belonged.

The inhabitants of warm countries requiring little clothing, and finding food sufficient in the fruits which are produced almost spontaneously, are proverbially indolent; but the Moors seem to excel all others in this qualification. They sit for hours together in a listless sort of indifference, occupied solely in smoking their pipes, seldom even speaking or appearing to seek any amusement. Yet these men are not without spirit and intelligence; but a long course of degradation, and subservience to unfeeling tyrants, seems to have repressed every exertion of them. It is true the Moors exercise almost all the trades known in Europe; but these trades are still in their infancy at Algiers, and it is truly tiresome to see one of these Moors at work. A watchmaker or jeweller, for instance, will take up the piece on which he was employed, examine it carefully on all sides, then lay it down and light his pipe, smoke for a few minutes, then resume his work, give it a few strokes of the file, smoke again, re-examine his work, and give a few strokes more, so that if paid as our workmen are, not one of them would earn sixpence a day; yet from their great temperance, and the extraordinary cheapness of the markets, they manage to live and support their families. A few of them also employ themselves in keeping shops and coffee-houses. This is excellently adapted to their disposition, as a few negro slaves perform all the business, and

leave the master to sit among his customers, and join them in drinking coffee, and smoking his pipe. Many Moors had little boats which they hired for pleasure excursions in the bay, some attempted net-fishing, and others were to be seen along the shores of the sea fishing with a line, while they smoked their pipe, and thus spent the whole day catching a few fish, which brought a most miserable price. They are not huntsmen, as that would require too much exertion; but all that can afford it keep horses to save themselves the trouble of walking.

It may be supposed, that amongst such a people agriculture is totally neglected, and such is really the case; for though all those who have country houses have generally well-cultivated gardens, and well-inclosed fields attached, yet the work in these is invariably done either by negro slaves or by Berber labourers, who hire themselves at about three-pence a day. The gardens are generally well kept, and stocked with fruit trees, flowers, and some vegetables; the fields are inclosed by hedges, and sown with wheat, barley, or potatoes. A Moor must be in extreme poverty before he will consent to work at either; the proprietors and their children, in particular, never condescend so far, but may occasionally be seen squatted behind the labourers to see that they do not lose their time. The commerce of this people is extremely

trifling; as they raise nothing of their own, they merely keep depôts, where the produce raised by Berbers and Arabs, such as tobacco, dried fruits, grain, &c. may be set forth for sale, and in like manner the importations from foreign countries, the principal of which are silks, coffee, muslins, porcelain, and hardware. These matters, however, will be more properly discussed when we come to speak of the city, its trade and commercial establishments. The manners and customs of any people, together with their dispositions and character, must be considerably influenced by their political situation; that is, the degree of freedom which they enjoy, or the chances held out to them of rising, by good conduct, to situations of rank and trust. The very worst of these influences have tended to debase and degrade the Moors, until by common consent they have been stigmatized as capable of any crime, provided only it be such as meanness may conceive or treachery execute. Though forming the great bulk of the population, they are in the cities insulted and oppressed by their Turkish masters, while in the country they are plundered and abused by the Arab and Berber hordes, without daring to take up arms in their own defence. Any chance of rising in the state, was made to depend more on their pliancy and subserviency to their masters, than on the exhibition of any noble or generous qualities.

Certain privileges, however, had been granted them by the Dey, as a sort of protection from injustice. Every town had a Moorish Cady, appointed specially to take cognizance of all their complaints, and decide on them according to their laws and customs; neither was there any appeal from his decisions, save to the Dey in person. A mufti, also, or religious officer, was appointed, to whom the Cady resorted for advice in such matters as were too difficult for his decision. In addition to these, the Moors were subject to all the other magistrates or police officers appointed by the Dey, or the governor of the province; but they had always the right of appeal to their own judges, from the injustice and ill treatment which they frequently experienced from these latter.

The Moors are treacherous and revengeful, but have no warlike character. They form no part of the standing army, and were only called out for service, on occasions of public emergency, such as a foreign invasion. As soon as this was over, they again returned each to his own private situation. All government offices, as well as situations of rank in the army, were held by Turks, Colooglics, and renegades. The Moors were excluded from them, and could look no higher than to become Imams (priests), Cadies, or Muftis. When the expedition under Lord Exmouth, however, had destroyed Christian slavery, and broken the power of the Turks,

these degraded people had made some efforts towards obtaining an immunity from gross and gratuitous outrage, and had so far succeeded, that when the Turks were still further reduced by the French blockade, which prevented their recruiting their numbers from their native country, it had become unusual that any of them should enter a Moorish house, and take whatever article caught his fancy; neither was it permitted that a Janissary might at pleasure strike any Moor who was passing him in the street. They had even acquired some notions of a political existence, not wholly dependent on that of their masters; for when Algiers was besieged, and the Dey had sent some proposals respecting a capitulation, the Moors sent a separate deputation to General Bourmont, offering to give up the city, entreating that it might not be sacked, and praying protection for themselves, their wives, and children. This, however, was only done when their habitual fear of the Turks was overcome by a still greater fear of the French. Fear, in fact, seems their great governing principle. They are lazy, idle, lying, deceitful, licentious, insolent and cruel, when they can be so with impunity; and though they were in the most deplorable state of ignorance, slavery and degradation, yet they looked on themselves as the first people in the world, despising the Turks on account of some sectarian differences in faith (though they both profess Mo-

hammedanism), and branding all other nations with the common appellation of barbarians. Their sensuality knows no bounds. By the laws of the Koran they are allowed each four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to maintain; yet, not content with this, they resort in numbers to houses of illicit intercourse, and even indulge in vices disgraceful and revolting to human nature. Their perfidy is so great, that they scarce can venture to trust one another, and this is the cause why their wives are kept so carefully concealed. Should one Moor call at the house of another, the slaves would probably shut the door and say their master was out: if it be a matter of business, it is generally transacted at the public markets or coffee houses. Near relatives, however, are admitted at stated hours; but only as far as the vestibule, or first apartment, where they find the master seated cross-legged, smoking his pipe. Lying seems a matter quite understood, and agreed upon amongst the inhabitants of Barbary: when an European ambassador once remonstrated with the Emperor of Morocco for violating a treaty which he had lately made, "Dost thou think I am a Christian," replied the Emperor, "that I should be a *slave* to my word?" A singular exemplification of their perfidy towards one another is to be found in Jackson's "Fragments and Notes,"

and which, as giving a good idea of their character, we here relate. “A Moor had murdered another, and having been caught in the fact, was thrown into prison, where he lay daily expecting an order for execution, or, at least, that his right hand should be chopped off, with which it was supposed he had done the deed. Meantime, one of his friends, anxious, if possible, to save his life, went to a person well acquainted with the prison, and offered a considerable sum, if he would manage that the prisoner should escape. This the man immediately undertook; but demanded that the money should be given to him first, after which he was to prove to the other that within a certain time he had accomplished his purpose. The night in which the liberation was to be attempted was fixed on, and ropes were ready, to enable the prisoner to get over the prison walls. Having thus secured one sum on the transaction, the liberator began to think whether he could not procure himself a second, and for this purpose, he went to the next of kin of the murdered man, who was, of course, anxiously thirsting for the prisoner’s death, and told him that there was no chance of justice being done, for that the prisoner had actually escaped; however, that he could, for a certain reward, put the prisoner in his power, so as to enable him to accomplish his revenge. This was also readily agreed to, and the

money paid down; the other giving surety that he would perform his promise. For this purpose, he desired the avenger to station himself under the shadow of a rock, near the prison, outside the town; for that there he would meet his enemy, about two o'clock the following morning. The person who made the first engagement, was directed to be at the same spot at three o'clock. All matters being now arranged, the liberation of the prisoner was effected a little before the first appointed hour, and he was directed to make his way to the rock, where, he was told, he should meet his friend. While waiting there, the avenger coming up first, and at once recognising the prisoner, struck a dagger into his heart and made his escape. The friend arriving a little after on the spot, found the prisoner's body, evidently recently murdered. While pondering on this singular circumstance, he saw the liberator approach, whom he at once commenced accusing of the prisoner's death; but he immediately replied, 'I have executed my engagement to liberate your friend, and am therefore entitled to my reward; what has happened to him since his liberation is no concern of mine, see you to that. But I should inform you, that, soon after his liberation, I saw a man approach, and fearing that I was discovered, I run and hid myself under the rock. In a short time I returned, and

found your friend weltering in his blood. When I approached him, he had just time, before he expired, to name to me his murderer, who, he said, was the next of kin to the man he had himself killed.' — And" Mr. Jackson adds, "the more duplicity is used in these horrid transactions, the more merit is attributed to the agent, who is praised in proportion to the extent of his ingenuity and treachery, as was the case with the liberator above mentioned."

The Moors are thieves, to an extent of which we can scarcely form a conception. Not only do they snatch up every thing that lies under their hands; but they use the utmost pains and exertions to ingratiate themselves into your confidence, in order that they may the more advantageously abuse it when an opportunity offers. One singular example to the contrary, while it still shows the strength of the propensity, is related. A Moor was employed as servant by a French officer, who had been the means of saving his life, and had done him many other kind offices. The Frenchman was in the habit of leaving on his table, when he went out, his watch, his purse, or other valuable articles, and on his return he occasionally missed them from the place he had left them in; but was always sure to find them soon after, perhaps, in some other situation. One day, however, as he was going out, he

was stopped by the Moor, who, falling at his feet, entreated him to lock up his property; for that the Algerines were all dreadful great thieves, and would certainly make away with it. "But," replied the officer, "no one enters my room except yourself, and you surely would not rob me?" "Alas! master," said the Moor, "I have already done so twenty times, but I always laid it back again; however, the temptation will surely be some day too strong for me, so I pray you lock up your money!" The master smiled at his *naïveté*, and took his advice.

Others had more practical and disagreeable proofs of the truth of the assertion. M. Rozet mentions, that their messman one day brought in a young Moor, of about eighteen, a well-looking fellow, who said he had been unfortunate, and begged to be employed about the house, were it only for his food. He said he had been lately married, and that the arrival of the French had deprived him of all means of subsistence. Pitying his story, it was agreed that he should be hired, and a small salary allowed him, for which he appeared very grateful. His hut, he said, was outside the walls, so that he begged a written order, that he might pass the guard at the gates when he was returning home every night. This he obtained, and two days after came to say that his wife would willingly undertake

to wash for the officers. In consequence, a quantity of linen was given him; next day he took off a coat, under pretence of having it repaired, and returning a few minutes after, managed to secrete the watch and some money belonging to the messman, with which he disappeared, and was never seen again. Generosity is not to be looked for amongst such a people, and hospitality can scarcely be expected, where suspicion seems the reigning character. In vain would a stranger knock at their door to solicit shelter or food; their hearts are closed against all supplications of this kind, and they scarcely even maintain any society amongst themselves, unless we consider as such their meeting at a coffee-house, and smoking together for hours without saying a word. This always appears one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the country to the Europeans. "Among so many new objects," says Major Jardine, "one hardly knows which to mention first, but the total want of society, and almost of conversation, among themselves, seems to us equally dismal and surprising. People bred in these countries are entirely ignorant of the social principle which we suppose natural to man. Though yoked by nature to each other, and brought to live together in towns for mutual convenience, yet are they unacquainted with the pleasures of society, and incapable of enjoying them: their very houses and

gardens look like prisons to shut themselves up in, and to exclude every eye, and almost the light of the sun, and seem, as it were, to turn away from each other. When by chance two or three people are seen sitting together, which is seldom, and commonly upon their heels on the dirty ground against a wall, it is all in silence: we seldom see them converse, I think, except when angry."

This unsocial disposition equally prevents them from feeling any desire to assist their countrymen, when in misfortune,—the poor may die at their doors without obtaining the least relief. When the French army was abandoning Bleeda, after having sacked it, the remains of the population followed in their train, through fear of the attacks of the Berbers, who would not fail to pour down on them, now that their means of defence were destroyed. They arrived at Algiers in a state of the greatest exhaustion and destitution, many of them having been, through fatigue, obliged to relinquish, on the way, whatever part of their property they had attempted to save. As many of them as were Jews, were most kindly received and attended to by those of the same religion at Algiers; but the unfortunate Moors met with no such relief: men, women, and children wandered through the streets in a state of despair, uttering heartrending shrieks, until the French taking pity on them, afforded them

what relief was in their power, and furnished them with the means of again returning to their own country. During the whole time, the Algerine Moors never showed them the slightest attention, or seemed so much as to honour them with a single look.

Parental tenderness and filial affection seem to be equally unknown; the Moor, who has learned from his father nothing, except to eat and drink, thinks he has acquitted himself of the obligation, when he has given the same education to his own children. They respect their old men as long as they are useful; but when they cease to be able to work, and become dependent for their support, there is no hesitation in showing them how tiresome they are considered.

An anecdote related by M. Renaudet, but for the exact truth of which we do not pledge ourselves, will best illustrate this fact. A Portuguese surgeon residing in the country, was one day addressed by a Moor, who said, "*Christian barbèros*," (a civil way they have of addressing foreign surgeons,) "give me some drugs to kill my father, and I shall pay you well." The Portuguese, a little astonished at such a request, was at first, rather taken aback; but being a man of the world, he at once recovered himself, and said, in a tone of equal coolness, "Don't you and your father agree well toge-

ther?"—"Oh! none can agree better," replied the Moor; "he is a fine old fellow, has made a good fortune, got me a wife, and given me all that he possessed; we have lived together for some years, and I support him without a single reproach; but he is so old that he can't work, and yet he won't die."—" 'Tis a good reason," said the surgeon; "you shall have what will soon make him." At the same time he prepared a cordial draught, very likely to comfort the poor old man's stomach, and gave it to the Moor, without making the least observation; well knowing, that had he shown any repugnance, the savage would have readily found some one else to assist his intentions more effectually. The Moor paid well, and set off; but eight days after returned to say, that his father was not yet dead. "Not yet dead!" said the Portuguese, "but he shall die." Immediately he made up another potion, which he promised should not fail, and received the Moor's best thanks, and another handsome fee. Before fifteen days had elapsed he was a third time visited by the Moor, who said that his father, so far from dying, seemed actually better after taking the drugs. "You must not, however, be discouraged," said this good son to the surgeon, "give me a new draught, and exert all your skill to make it sure." After this time the surgeon had no more visits; but happening to meet the Moor one day, in the

plains, he asked him how the last had succeeded. "It was of no use," said the Moor, "my father is in good health; God has made him survive all we gave him; without doubt he is a saint!"

In opposition to all these vices, M. Rozet declares, he can scarcely attribute to the Moorish character a single virtue. Their tranquillity is the result of indolence and carelessness; the sobriety of the lower classes comes from their aversion to labour; their aptitude to fulfil their religious duties arises from the dread they have of corporal and spiritual torments; their veneration for the dead never leads them to do any good to the living; nor is it so great as to compete with the offer of a small sum of money, for which they assisted the French in removing the graves of their own kinsfolk and people, when it was thought expedient by the officers of health, that a certain space around the city walls should be cleared, which had formerly been used as a burial ground. "Let no one," says M. Rozet, "accuse me of prejudice; I went to Africa, in the persuasion that the Turks were sanguinary tyrants, holding under the yoke, by force of arms, a generous population, who wanted but the opportunity to resume their liberty and energy. The gates of Algiers opened, we entered, and what did I see?—Three thousand Janissaries; one third of them unable to bear arms, who held in trembling

subjection a population of twenty thousand inhabitants. These same men, even when conquered and disarmed, still inspired terror into the Moors, who scarce could pass them without an involuntary gesticulation of respect." M. Rozet seems, from this, to infer that the Turks had, in following a line of undeviating strictness and severity, found the only true method of governing men, who knew no other principle than fear; but he should have remembered that this degraded state was a result of constantly following this mode of command; and, in fact, was a necessary consequence of centuries of subjection and insult. It is true other writers have agreed in an equally unfavourable estimate of the Moorish character; but they have allowed it to possess, at least, one good trait: that is, fortitude under misfortune. This the Moor exhibits in an eminent degree,—he never despairs; no bodily suffering, no calamity, however great, will make him complain; he is resigned in all things, to the will of God, and waits in patient hope for an amelioration of his condition. To illustrate this, Mr. Jackson relates the following anecdote, which is further useful as showing the vicissitudes to which the life of a Moorish merchant is subject.

"A Fez merchant (with whom I had considerable transactions) went, with all his property, on a commercial speculation, from Fez to Timbuctoo;

and after remaining at the latter place a sufficient time to dispose of and barter his effects for gold dust and gum of Soudan, he set out on his return to Fez. After passing the Desert he began to congratulate himself on his good fortune and great success, when suddenly a party of Arabs attacked the *cafila* (caravan), and plundered all who belonged to it, leaving the Fez merchant destitute of every thing, but what clothes he had on his back. During the interregnum between the death of the Sultan Yezzed and the proclamation of the present Sultan Soliman, this man was plundered again on his way to Mogodor, whether he was going to discharge his debts, and to dispose of gum, and other Soudanic produce. Four wives, and a numerous family of children, rendered his case peculiarly distressing; yet, when condoling with him a few days after his misfortunes had happened, he very patiently observed, ‘ *Ash men doua, Allah bra; u la illah, ila Allah;*’ what remedy is there? God willed it so; and there is none but God. This man afterwards collected together what merchandize he could procure on credit, and proceeded again to Timbuctoo, where he realized much property; and, travelling therewith through Wangara and Housa to Egypt, was plundered a third time of all he possessed near Cairo, and reduced to the greatest distress: this last misfortune he bore with the same

fortitude as the former. He is now one of the principal merchants established at Timbuctoo."

The Moors are equal by birth; they know no difference of rank, except such as is derived from official employments; on resigning which, the individual again mixes with the common class of citizens. The meanest man in the nation may thus aspire, without presumption, to the hand of the daughter of the most opulent: an accident, or the caprice of the prince, may in a moment precipitate the latter into misery, and elevate the former to prosperity and honour.

In Morocco, where they are not under subjection to a Turkish power, the Moors exhibit rather more liveliness and activity. They are occasionally to be found pursuing such sports as leap-frog, jumping, and foot-ball; the latter of which is rather a favourite diversion. They also excel in the management of their horses, which, in fact, forms almost the whole of their military education. As they are all liable to be called out as soldiers, they constantly perform this exercise. A troop start off together at full gallop, fire their muskets, and stop short close to some wall; those being considered the best horsemen who approach nearest the wall, and stop the most suddenly. For this purpose their bits are extremely severe, giving them the

power of checking, and almost throwing on his hams, a horse when in full speed.

It would appear the Moors of Morocco are not so totally given up to theft as their Algerine brethren. As a proof of this, Doctor Shaw mentions that the western Moors have for many years continued to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering on the River Niger, without ever seeing the persons with whom they deal, or without ever having infringed the original mode of commerce established between them. The method is this:—At a certain time of the year, generally towards winter, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissors, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different sized heaps of gold-dust, lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigertians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold-dust, or else make some deductions from the latter; and in this manner transact their exchange, without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or per-

fidiousness on either side. We cannot, however, agree with Doctor Shaw in thinking this any great honour to the western Moors, as it only shows them to be honest where dishonesty would most clearly prove to their own great disadvantage, inasmuch as it would evidently put a stop to so lucrative a trade.

Though not a ceremonious people, the Moors have certain terms and gestures of respect. Towards all their superiors they use the appellative *sydi* (the Spanish *cid*), meaning sir, or master. Women of better quality are addressed by the title *lala*, equivalent to our English madam. “As to their outward demonstrations of respect,” says Mr. Addison, who writes from personal observation, “there is little variation; for a grave inclination of the body, with a putting the right hand first to the heart, next to the forehead, and then kissing the two foremost fingers, laid across the lips, is the exactest manner of saluting the grandees, whose hand, knee, or the bottom of the vest is kissed by the vulgar.” Those that are familiar, and of equal rank, at the first meeting touch hands, and then lay them on their breasts. The forms of greeting, or salutation, preserve a considerable appearance of piety. When they encounter one another on a journey they use this form of thanksgiving, “*El ham dillah al salam tiqsi*” (God be praised that I see thee well);

but in passing by one another the usual salutation is, "*Salam aleik um*," peace be with you. When one of a company happens to sneeze, the rest say, "*Era hanig Allah*," God be your keeper. When one Moor goes to see another at his house, the master of the house says, "*Mar baba*," or welcome, which if repeated thrice is an undoubted mark that he is glad to see him: the guest, in return, says, "*Allah ellah miq*," which means, God requite you. The like air of devotion is observable in their letters, particularly such as are written on state occasions; of which the following, addressed, about the middle of the seventeenth century, by one of the Barbary princes to Earl Teviot, commanding the English garrison, then in possession of Tangiers, may serve as an example.

" In the name of God, gracious and merciful,
" whose blessing be upon our lord
" Mahommed and his family,

" To the mighty, honourable, glorious, and most
excellent lord and governor of Tangier, the Earle
Teviot.

" God perpetuate your Excellency's honour and
glory, and vouchsafe your perseverance in grandeur
and felicity. Happiness unto you, with the odours
of a glorious name, shall continually breathe out

their fragrances, and let God continue and prosper both you and your estate agreeable to your wishes.

“ Furthermore, to advise us of your abundant love and especial generosity, there came to us the worthy gentlemen, your servants, in their ship, with the honourable commanders of it, the consul and the captain, and they behaved themselves amongst us *like men*, touching your command which they observed, and accomplished our desires according as we expected in the going forth of our men, they returning home to us in health and safety, so that we now re-enjoy their company according to the best of our wishes. And let God in our stead largely reward and recompense you, who have so highly obliged us herein.

“ Your messengers staid with us for some days, till we had performed some of their desires, so that we sent along with them two excellent horses, and of the best sort that hath been in our time, one whereof was for our own riding, and the other is of the same breed, likewise forty good choice beasts, both bulls and cows, and a flock of about four-score sheep, as a present to your Excellency, which, out of your grace and favour, you would vouchsafe to accept from us; for the deserts and merits of your honour, God alone can recompence.

“ We gave also to your legates two special

horses, and a few cattle as the time permitted ; and they likewise bought some horses as the time permitted, and then departed from us well contented. But we are always with you in that inviolable love and friendship, which neither distance of place, nor length of time, shall ever dissolve. And as for our country, *Barbary* (blessed be God), all of it that is loyal and in obedience to us, whether mountains, plains, or cities, you have free passage into, in love and friendship ; to converse and trade, as you please, and manage all your affairs."

He then proceeds to demand aid and assistance in putting down his rebel subjects, and points out how it may be most efficaciously applied ; after which he concludes,

" Thus we have given you the full of our desires in what we have written. And let God accomplish all your desires. Farewell.

" Written the third day of the week, being the twenty-fifth of the month *Dulhevil*, the last month of the 1073 year of the *Hegira*.

" The servant of God who trusteth in him, *Abdallah ebn Mohammed ebn Abubeker*, of blessed memory."

The superscription,

" To the chief of the nobles, lord and governor of Tangier, the Earle Tiveot, whom God preserve."

All these outward forms of piety are a part of the Mohammedan religion, which, in one form or other, is professed by all Moors, Turks, Colooglics, Arabs, and negroes within the Barbary States. The principal sects are two, the one maintaining that Mohammed was taken up body and soul to heaven, and that prayers should be offered *five* times a day; the other thinking that it was only Mohammed's soul which was so favoured, and that it is enough to pray *three* times a day. The former of these sects assumes the title of true followers of Mohammed, while the latter is designated as the followers of Ali. There are some other points of difference between them; the former maintaining that God is the cause both of good and bad, the latter allowing him the cause of good only; the former assert that God and his laws are both eternal, the latter denying this attribute to his laws, and confining it to himself. The mosques, or places of religious worship, are maintained with great decency, and are always considered as of first-rate importance in the settlement of a new village. When several people have agreed together for this purpose, and chosen the neighbourhood in which they are to dwell, their next care is to select a spot of ground suitable for the foundation of their mosque, or giazza, and it is so arranged that this shall be as nearly as possible in the centre of the new

colony. This is the first building erected. Persons of all sexes, age, and quality contributing their labours gratuitously, and considering it a special honour and favour to be employed in so meritorious a work. When this is finished they engage a priest, or iman, at a certain yearly salary, who consecrates the building by reading in it a chapter of the Koran, and from this time it is set apart for the purposes of prayer and devotion. The form of these giammas is usually alike; a long narrow building, running east and west, the door opening from the north, and the interior constantly lighted up with lamps, there being no windows. The floor is handsomely matted, and so are the walls, for about two feet in height. If the roof be large and weighty it is supported with pillars, amongst which hang the lamps, which are kept burning all night. A square tower is attached to the building, on the top of which is a platform, surrounded by a balustrade, where the muezzin takes his stand to call the faithful to prayers. Here also is a flag-staff, upon which he displays, at the moment of invocation, a small white flag, to serve as a notice to those who may be at too great a distance to hear his voice. On Fridays, the Moham-medan sabbath, a green flag is used. The prayers succeed each other at the following intervals: "*Sala'at el fejer*," prayers at dawn; "*Sala'at el*

dohor," prayers at half-past one, P. M.; "*Sala'at el asser*," prayers at four, P. M.; "*Sala'at el mogreb*," prayers at sunset; and "*Sala'at el asa*," prayers an hour and half after sunset; the mosques are then closed, and not opened until past midnight. The most important of these is the *dohor*, or midday, when all those desirous of being thought good Mohammedans, and who are sufficiently near, repair to the mosque, taking off their shoes as they enter. None but men and well-grown boys are admitted: a basin, filled with water, or a fountain, is always placed at the door, and each of those entering performs his ablutions; after which they range themselves in parallel lines, squatting down on the matts which cover the floor, taking care that they face the pulpit, where sits an iman, who reads them passages from the Koran. Many of the assistants have rosaries in their hands, and pass the beads through their fingers as they repeat each passage after the iman. At pronouncing the sentence, "God is great," they all use an elevation both of hands and eyes to heaven; at the name of Mecca, they all kiss the ground; but when they mention Mohammed, and the mercies he procures them, they fall prostrate, and suddenly, as if in a kind of rapture, reassume the erect position. The service, being so frequently repeated, is necessarily short; and when the iman has repeated four times

“ *La illah Mahomed Resul Allah,*” there is but one God, and Mohammed the messenger of God, the muezzin dismisses the people, the iman always leaving the mosque first. Friday, as we have mentioned, is the sabbath, but as Mohammed has not enjoined absolute rest, many of the Moors return to their occupations after midday service, which they are generally extremely exact in attending.

Though prayers in a mosque are supposed to be peculiarly meritorious, yet those who cannot conveniently attend are allowed to pray in the places where they happen to be, and which they do without paying the least attention to the by-standers. Thus the merchants in their shops, travellers on their journey, and husbandmen in the field, each, when the hour of prayer is come, turn their face towards Mecca, go through their salutations and forms, bow their heads to the earth, and immediately resume whatever they had been engaged in.

The education of the imans is not one of very great difficulty, though the mode of selection is certainly judicious. No child is from its birth destined to this holy office, as we have seen was the case with the children of the Marabouts; but if any youth, during his stay at the ordinary schools, shall have exhibited much quickness in learning to read and write the Koran, almost the only instruction given, and shall further feel himself inclined

towards the ministry, he is, on reaching the first class, taken into the house of one of the best learned imans in the town or village where the school is kept. Here he is instructed in reading the Koran more perfectly, in expounding the different passages, in learning the forms to be observed at the mosque, and a few other particulars, including perhaps some works on Moorish history; after which his tutor calls a meeting of the other imans, who examine the candidate, and, finding him fit, grant him a testimonial of his qualifications and zeal to undertake the holy office; after which there remains no further ordination, but he forthwith enters on the performance of his duties the first vacancy that may occur. No person, however, is considered fit to be an iman, until he is of mature age, and married; this last regulation being probably, as Mr. Addison suggests, the result of Moorish jealousy. To their priests the Moors pay great respect and attention, yielding them, on all occasions, the place of honour, ploughing their ground, dressing their vineyard, and reaping their corn, that they may be free from all secular cares, and at liberty to attend wholly to the duties of their holy office. The first of these is the care of the mosque; they must see that it is kept in good order, all dilapidations carefully repaired, lamps and mats duly supplied, together with all other necessaries for the decent

performance of religious rites. In this they are assisted by the muezzin, who, in addition to calling the faithful to prayers, looks after these matters of detail, performing nearly the duties of our sexton. Public instruction is the next branch that claims the attention of the iman. This he does not undertake in person, but appoints one or more schoolmasters, none of whom can receive pupils without his licence, whom he overlooks, examining the children at stated intervals, and distributing rewards, or reproofs, as their industry or negligence may seem to merit. In this way the iman becomes acquainted with the most promising amongst the rising generation, and is thus enabled to select those most competent to perform the duties, and support the credit of the ministry. His next care is to notice those who absent themselves from the mosque, being furnished with a discretionary power of punishing those who may have been particularly remiss. This, however, is a power seldom called into execution, as the Moors are in general singularly attentive to their religious duties; nor is the punishment when inflicted very severe, being most usually a fine of five or six pounds of cuscussowe, which is brought to the mosque by the offending party, and eaten in his presence by the priest and the congregation. The imans also pay attention to the sick, and attend to the grave such as die.

Of the ceremonies observed on such occasions we shall speak presently. Slight quarrels between neighbours are usually made up by their mediation, but this can only be done when the quarrel is merely one of words; if money matters be concerned they are forbidden to interfere, the case being then referred to the Cadi. If the iman dislike his cure he has liberty of removal, not being confined to any particular mosque for above a year, and he seldom contracts for a longer space. As long as he holds it he is in receipt of all its rents, donations, and bequests, out of which he is bound to keep it in repair, and may then apply the surplus to his own benefit. This is in many places no inconsiderable income, for all Moors at their death leave something to the mosque, and those also who have had any lucky chance, or have been peculiarly prosperous in trade, often bestow a donation. The Moors have no such thing as excommunication, or debarring any one the right of attending divine service, observing, with much reason, that this would be to deprive the sinner of his best chance of amendment.

In addition to their regular priesthood, the Moors have, as well as the Berbers, Marabouts, or saints, in whom, however, they do not place so much implicit reliance, though they push their complaisance so far as to permit them to be freely visited by their

wives and daughters. Indeed it is with the female sex that these saints seem to have most influence; and the worthy father Dan mentions that they excite one another to the fiercest hatred for Christians, and which is sufficiently natural, assist one another in vows and supplications for the success of their corsair friends, when engaged on any piratical expedition. In resorting to the Marabouts, women of rank are generally attended by negress slaves. Their visits are very frequent, and apparently dictated by motives of piety. M. Rozet having made, rather against his will, an acquaintance with the Marabout who kept the tomb of Sydi-Abderahman, the most celebrated in the neighbourhood of Algiers, used occasionally to go there to pay him a visit, which was tolerably well received; on such occasions he has frequently found the Moorish women prostrate around the shrine of the saint, and appearing to pray with much fervour. The slaves did not pray, but remained in a sort of ante-room to the chapel, where they generally were seen seated round the windows. For private consultations there were several rooms up stairs, into which M. Rozet could never gain admittance, and which, as the sepulchre was very spacious, afforded all the secrecy that could be desired.

The Moors, in common with other Mohammedans, observe numerous feasts and festivals; before

speaking of which, it will be necessary to say a few words on their calendar. The Arabian calendar, which is used generally on this coast, divides the year, according to the revolutions of the moon, into twelve months, consisting alternately of twenty-nine and thirty days, so that the whole year is of three-hundred and fifty-four days, to which an intercalary day is added at the end of every second, or every third year. The months, together with the number of days in each, are expressed in the table:—

	Months.	Days.
1	Mubarrem	30
2	Sefer, or Saphar	29
3	Rabiû 'l ewuel, (or the first Rabiû)	30
4	Rabiû 'l ákhei, (the second Rabiû)	29
5	Jomádhé 'l ewuel, (the first Jomádhé)	30
6	Jomádhé 'l ákhei, (the second Jomádhí)	29
7	Regeb	30
8	Shâbán	29
9	Ramadhán	30
10	Shawwál	29
11	Dhû 'l kâdah	30
12	Dhû 'l hajjah	29

The first month, Muharrem, corresponds to the end of June and commencement of July, and the last Dhû 'l hajjah, the month of *pilgrimage*, as its name implies, to the end of May and commence-

ment of June. It is evident, however, that this must be a constantly varying adaptation, their year falling short of ours by ten or eleven days.

The Ashúrâ is the greatest holiday in the year, and falls on the tenth of the month, or, as the Moors would say, of the *moon*, Muharrem. On this day, according to their belief, were created the heavenly light, shining on Mohammed's face, the heavens, paradise, the tables of the divine decrees, the divine pen with which they were written, the law of Moses, and Adam and Eve. On this day, also Enoch was translated; Abraham and Joseph were delivered; Pharaoh was drowned; Job cured; Daniel saved from the den of lions; Adam pardoned; the ark built; Jesus born,—his body withdrawn from the Jews; Jonah delivered from the whale; John the Baptist born; Tobias restored to sight; and the Jews were restored from the Babylonish captivity. The day itself is a strict fast, and is celebrated by alms-giving, and bestowing donations on the public funds, for the relief of the poor. The days before and after it are festivals.

The next fête is the birth of Mohammed, which is celebrated the twelfth¹ of the moon Rabiû'l

¹ M. Rozet says the *second*, but we question whether he has not written *deuxième* in mistake for *douzième*, an error, it will be observed, easily made in pronunciation. Our authority is Rabadan's 'Mahometism explained,' or the fact may be seen as we state it, in the excellent article 'Calendar,' of the Encyclopædia Metropolitana.

Ewuel, or the third month of the Arabian year. Coloured lamps are then attached to the minarets of all the mosques, their interior is illuminated, and they remain open the whole night. Every private person decorates his house, and lights as many tapers as his means will permit. Their style of living is also improved; the women make pastry, and large dishes of cuscussowe, boiled with mutton and fowl. In the evening the coffee-houses are illuminated, and there are musicians in them all: the Moors dressed in their best robes assemble in them to smoke, drink coffee, and listen to the music, which, however, is much too harsh to please European ears. The feast of Mohammed lasts two consecutive days, during which the mussulmans attend to no business, go to mosque at the appointed hours, live well at home, and assemble at the coffee-houses every evening.

The seventh month, Regeb, is a sort of sabbatical month, in which no wars were to be commenced, and any good works done during this month are much increased in value. Thus, "he who fasteth one day thereof, meriteth the same as if he had fasted a whole year of ordinary days; if he completely fasteth seven days, the seven gates of hell shall be shut against him; and if he completeth eight days, the eight gates of Paradise shall all be widely expanded, to give him entrance into those mansions of

everlasting bliss, at which of those avenues he shall think fit; but if he fasteth ten days *his offences shall be converted into merits.*"

Ramadhán, the ninth month, is the Mohammedan Lent. During this month, those who observe their religious duties, abstain from all debauch, and live with as much regularity as possible. They are only permitted to drink water during the day; after sunset they make a single repast, and are then allowed to resort to the coffee-houses, and indulge in smoking and snuff, which previous to that hour are forbidden. In Algiers persons were allowed to be in the streets until midnight, at which hour they were paraded by negro musicians, making a terrible *charivan*, with all sorts of instruments. Every one then retired to his own house, partook of a small repast or collation, called *zaor*, and went to rest. The 26th, at mid-day, all good believers go to the Mufti, the chief of the imans, and to the Adi, the senior iman, each with a taper in his hand, and singing on the way verses from the Koran. They then repair to the palace of the Dey, or that of the commandant of the city, at whose gate they say a short prayer for his preservation, called *fata*. This prayer terminated, the procession moves on to some Marabout's tomb; at Algiers, that of Sydi-Abder-nahman, where, after prostration, and a short prayer, each presents his taper to guardian of the shrine,

and then retires. The night of this day is the *Sailat-el-kadhr*, or night of power, which Mohammed says is of more value than a thousand nights, for on it the angel Gabriel brought the Koran down to him from heaven. Many a pious mussulman sits up all night, in hopes of catching the happy moment when the heavens open and display the glory of God to the eyes of the faithful. Prayers offered at such a moment are said to be peculiarly acceptable, the most *authentic* proof of which is the instance of the negro girl, who, at the auspicious time had courage enough to cry out, “*Ya rabbí Kubú rasí;*” that is ‘O Lord, give me a good head of hair.’—Her prayer is said to have been heard, but was interpreted according to its literal sense, ‘O Lord, make my head large!’ for her head had grown to such a size next morning, that the neighbours were obliged to make a breach in the wall of the house to let her out.

On the 27th, the street music ceases, and on the 29th, at sun-set, the mufti and all the imans ascend the minaret of the principal mosque, to see whether they can discover the new moon, and as soon as it has appeared, they go in a body to the Dey, announce that the moon has risen, and that it promises an excellent year. This happy event is immediately communicated to the whole town, by a discharge of cannon and musquetry, whereupon the fast is at an

end, and all is mirth, jollity, and revelry. The *Bairam*, or great feast, has now commenced; all the men quit their houses and go to the coffee-houses, which are illuminated; there they are regaled with coffee, pipes, and music; even rum, and a spiritous liquor called *lakab*, the fermented juice of the date-palm, are introduced and freely drank on this occasion, an indulgence, which, though not permitted, is connived at by the imans. Many of the faithful continue their festivities all night. The next morning, at break of day, the Moors perform a grand ablution, either at their own houses, or at one of the public fountains, whence they repair to the mosques. The day is afterwards spent in enjoyment: those near the sea-shore generally forming boating parties; certain ceremonies also were observed at the Dey's palace: the European consuls, and all the grandees used to repair thither to kiss the Dey's hand, and offer him their felicitations; feats of agility were executed by the Janissaries; but we shall speak of the court celebration more fully in our chapter on Government.

This Bairam lasts four days¹, which the Moors

¹ Rabadan says this Bairam lasts only three days, and the other Bairam, in the twelfth moon, four days; Tully, who was British consul at Tripoli for ten years, says this Bairam lasts three days in town and seven in the country; Addison also states the length of this Bairam in Morocco to be four days: the statement in the text is from M. Rozet, who witnessed its celebration at Algiers. The number of days also ap-

observe by praying at stated hours, enjoying themselves, and making good cheer. As, however, there is no ordinance against working, many people on leaving the mosques resume their ordinary occupations. We may observe here, once for all, that none but men and boys are to be seen enjoying themselves: women have no share in the public festivities; they are not even allowed to assemble at one another's houses, for the purpose of entertainment; their only pleasure is, that those of each establishment dress themselves out in their best attire, and partake of the good cheer prepared for their common spouse.

The other Bairam is the only remaining festival of importance. It commences the tenth day of the twelfth moon, or Dhú'l hajjah, and lasts for four days. The early part of this month is chosen for pilgrimage, for visiting the *Caaba*, and other holy places at Mecca. During the feast, every family that can afford it, kills a sheep, and those that are rich several, in order to regale themselves and their poorer neighbours. The last day of the feast was marked by the Aga, or commander of the Janissaries, going

pears arbitrary, as Sale (Introduction to Koran) says, "Beiram is kept at Constantinople for three days together; but in other parts of Turkey, and in Persia, for five or six days, at least, by the common people, to make themselves amends for the mortifications of the preceding month."

in state to wait on the Dey, while silver was distributed by his attendants to the multitude who flocked to see the procession.

These are the principal Mohammedan holidays, and they are generally strictly observed by the Moors of Barbary. For the purpose of reducing their lunar to a conformity with solar years, the Arabs had proposed intercalating a month every second or third year, which, however, was directly forbidden by Mohammed, who declares against having thirteen months in a year, as unlawful, and as having also the effect of rendering stationary the feasts which he intended to be moveable.

The Moors have several superstitious observances in which they put much faith, and their belief in which is strengthened by the assertions and pretended miracles of the Marabouts. Certain wells are particularly looked on with reverence, and pilgrimages made to them, either for preservation from evils, protection on journeys, or recovery of health. All the Algerines believe in two supernatural powers, a good, and a malicious.

Whatever may befall them, they always say, "God has willed it so;" but they never attribute to the Divinity the direct infliction of the misfortunes which they may meet. "It is demons or evil spirits," they say, "who do all the mischief

which happens on earth ;” therefore they stand in much awe of them. When a Moor has eaten a plant or fruit which disagrees with him, he attributes the effect to the presence of a demon which had taken up its residence in it, and he forthwith goes to tell his friends in confidence, “ Don’t touch such a fruit wherever you may find it, for an evil spirit has got possession of it ;” a warning to which they generally pay much attention. If a house becomes unhealthy from any cause, or if the master fancies he has seen any thing suspicious about the house or garden, “ The devils are here,” he says to his family, “ we must be gone ;” and with such haste is this announcement attended to, that part of the furniture is not unfrequently left behind. The proprietor never fails to tell his story to all who will hear him, so that a general panic is spread, no one will venture to inhabit the house, which is thus left deserted, and finishes by falling to ruins. This is the reason assigned for the great number of ruined houses to be found in the vicinity of Algiers. Not only do the Moors believe in this power of the demons, but also in their ability to get into the bodies of men, and then do them much harm. To guard against this, they wear talismans, or amulets, containing a slip of paper, on which are inscribed some mystic figures, a few verses of the

Koran, and a form of conjuration against evil spirits. These amulets are chiefly made by the Marabouts, who derive a tolerably profitable trade in them; for not only does a mussulman attach one round his own neck, and those of his children, but on his oxen, horses, camels, and even occasionally asses, who are thus supposed to be protected against all sorcery or witchcraft. M. Rozet gives the translation of one of these amulets, found in the Dey's fort at Algiers when the French army entered, and called, "The amulet of our Lord Mohammed for his camel." It is not worth copying entire. The few commencing lines are an extract from the Koran; then follows a good deal of unintelligible nonsense, which may be judged of from this the first sentence; "O God! sad severity! evil or burning fire; dry wood, frozen water, a malicious spirit, and a benevolent favour!" This runs to the length of about two pages, and the whole is concluded by this magic square drawn at the bottom, and in which the figures, whether added in a line downwards, or across, or diagonally, will be found to give the same result, viz. 78. To this sum particular power is attached, as it is the numerical expression for the letters, H. K. I. M., meaning sage or wise man, according to the following scheme, $H=8$, $K=20$, $I=10$, and $M=40$.

40	10	20	8
7	21	9	41
12	42	6	18
19	5	43	11

In others of their charms frequent prayers are made to God, after he is invoked by Adam's robe, by Eve's head-dress, by Moses' rod, by the Gospel of Jesus, &c. that he would bestow his influence upon the amulet, and be propitious to the wearer of it. Doctor Shaw had got a small manuscript book of such charms, written in Arabic characters, in which the Moors had such great confidence, that when suspended round their breasts they were afraid of nothing, and would undertake the most dangerous actions. "I once saw a strolling dervishe at Algiers, armed with this book, who would have allowed us, nay, even provoked us to fire at his head or breast, a loaded gun or pistol, which, he confidently assured us, could do him no harm. But as it was not prudent to make the experiment, and as the influence of it would be the same, as he

affirmed, upon any other creature, we suspended it accordingly upon the neck of a sheep ; which, indeed, a little to our surprise at first, and to the no small exultation of the dervishe, stood about a minute after it was shot, before it fell down dead."

Others of these amulets are said to possess different powers, such as to insure the wearer the favour of princes, to inspire courage, to intimidate an enemy, to prevent distemper, or whatever else may be injurious, and the like.

While they use such precautions against the devil, and seek to avoid the snares which he is continually occupied in laying for them, they believe his power to be almost as great as that of God, and particularly attribute to him, a great knowledge of future events. This, they suppose, he can confer on those of whose bodies he has gained possession ; and even go so far as to imagine, that the possessed can transfer this power to whomsoever they will. In the strength of this belief, they occasionally endeavour to persuade their slaves to become possessed, in order that they may gain from them this insight into futurity. As it is negro slaves who are always employed for this purpose, and as the ceremonies used are peculiar to them, we shall defer mentioning them until we come to speak particularly of that group of men.

Like most barbarous people, the Moors are par-

ticularly careful respecting the honours to be paid to their deceased relatives and friends. When one of them is said to be dangerously ill, he is visited by the iman, who admonishes him of his faults, and then desires him to look forward to the great pleasures of Paradise. “I have been told,” says Mr. Addison, “that there are certain *azaoras*, or parcels of the Koran, appointed to be read on this occasion to the infirm, who, if he die not while these *azaoras* are thrice read over, it is an omen of his recovery; but if the agony be observed to increase in the time of reading, they conclude that the patient will not escape.” When the sick man observes this, and sees that in all probability his distemper will terminate in death, he begins to dispose of his property, bequeathing, in the first place, a portion to his mosque, together with small sums to the iman and muezzin, after which he leaves the rest to the Cady, to be divided amongst his wives and children, in which distribution, a son gets twice as much as a daughter, while the wives can claim no more than is set down in their marriage contract. It is also usual on such occasions, if the dying man be wealthy, that he should manumit some of his slaves. When this is finished, his friends, who on the news of his danger have assembled at the door, are admitted, and forthwith begin to scream and howl in the most

hideous manner, to convince him that there is no more hope, and that he is already reckoned amongst the dead. The noise, confusion, and agitation of the scene, of course contribute materially towards hurrying it to a conclusion, and if the sick man be observed to struggle much, a spoonful of honey is put into his mouth to ease his pain, which it generally does by suffocating him. Having thus dispatched the husband, it would seem as though the next point of their duty, was to do as much for his wife. No sooner has the breath left his body, than a general screaming of the words *toul-liah-woo*, is set up by all in the house. These cries, which are so loud and reiterated, as to be heard at a great distance, bring all the females acquainted with or dependant on the family, to scream over the dead, and condole with the nearest relations of the deceased. The mode in which this is performed, is by each in succession (and, says Tully, there will sometimes be a hundred,) going to the unfortunate mother or widow of the deceased, taking her in their arms, laying her head on their shoulders, and screaming without intermission for several minutes, till the afflicted object, stunned with the constant howling, and a repetition of her misfortune, sinks senseless from their arms on the floor. Meantime the corpse is not neglected, and as they think it cannot enjoy happiness, while yet above the

ground, they instantly set about preparing it for burial, by washing it all over in soap and water; and it is a great consolation to them if the corpse seem to *smile* during this ceremony, as they look on this as a proof that their services are acceptable to their deceased friend, whereas this retraction of the corners of the lips is probably in many cases the last convulsions of departing life, induced, by the exposure of the body to cold before it is completely dead. Indeed, their celerity in this point is so great, as to render it not unlikely that very many Moors are buried alive. This was particularly common during the plague; the following case is mentioned by Tully, as having occurred at Tripoli, within his own experience:—

“A merchant who died here a little while ago, was buried in less than two hours after they thought he was dead. In the evening of the same day, some people passing by the burial ground, heard dreadful cries, and when they came into town they reported what had happened. As this man, whose name was Bio, was the last buried there that day, his friends went in the morning early to look at his grave, which they opened, and saw him sitting upright; he had torn off all his clothing, but was suffocated.”

When they prepare the body for burial, they fill the mouth, ears, nostrils, and under the eye-

lids, with camphor and the richest spices they can procure, and burn aromatic herbs under the boards on which the body has been washed. They then array it in the best clothes they have, and put on it all the gold and jewels they can spare. An unmarried woman is dressed as a bride, with bracelets on her hands and feet; her eyebrows painted, and the hairs plucked out that they may look even. The body thus dressed, is wrapped in a piece of fine white linen cloth, brought from Mecca, where it has been blessed, and the friends and relatives are then admitted to see and weep over it. In no case is the body kept more than twenty-four hours, which limit is in some measure rendered necessary by the heat of the climate. The bier is formed of planks, and covered, according to their means, with stuffs, silks, or cloth of gold. At the head of a man's coffin is placed his turban, made so as to denote his rank; and at the head of a woman's, is a bunch of flowers. The nearest male relations generally carry it to the grave; but they are at every moment assisted or relieved by some friend or acquaintance of the deceased, or some dependant, anxious to pay this last mark of respect, so that the bier is almost at every moment shifting, and appears in constant danger of falling to the ground. The iman always attends on these occasions and walks next to the corpse: the procession

being led by all the manumitted slaves of the deceased, each of whom places his ticket of freedom in a cleft at the end of a long reed, which he holds elevated between both his hands. If the interment take place at noontide, they all stop and hear prayers at the chief mosque on their way. The body is then carried to the burial-ground, and lowered into the grave, which is never very deep, so that it may rest on the left side, and have the face towards Mecca; the iman then prays that the sins of the defunct may be pardoned, and that he may have a portion in the promised delights, the face is uncovered that the friends may have a last look, the cloth is replaced, flags or planks laid down, the earth thrown in, and the grave finally closed up with turf and branches of trees, if the family are poor, but adorned with handsome marble headstones and slabs, if the family be rich.

In all this ceremony the women are never allowed to take any part; they remain at home, and prepare the funeral banquet, consisting of mutton, fowls, cuscussowe, dried and fresh fruits, &c., which, set out in dishes and baskets, are borne by slaves in the rear of the procession to the grave. When this is filled in, a partial distribution takes place to the assistants and the beggars, who never fail to attend in numbers, and to whom also small pieces of money are given; but the greater part of the

provisions are carried back to the house of the deceased, where all his friends and relatives assemble to devour them, praising his virtues, and lamenting his loss. Meantime, the slaves who have received tickets of manumission, go and present them to the Cadi, who, having perused and ascertained their correctness, informs them that they are free, that from that moment they enjoy all the rights of citizens, of which he exhorts them to make a good use. M. Rozet had an opportunity, enjoyed by few, perhaps we may say, no European before him, of witnessing the whole funeral rites of an Algerine female of the highest rank, and, as a personal narrative always carries with it interest and authenticity, we shall venture to quote at length his account.

“ The best arranged ceremonial of this kind that I witnessed was the burial of a daughter of the celebrated Dey Mustapha Pasha. The *cortége* was very beautiful : in front marched two female negro slaves, bearing, on long reeds, their tickets of freedom ; after them followed a great number of other slaves, of both sexes, carrying dishes of cuscussow, boiled with meat, and baskets filled with dried and fresh fruits. The two brothers of the deceased formed part of the escort, but, except the negresses, there was not a female present. The burying-ground of the family of Mustapha Pasha is situated just outside the gate Bab-azoona, surrounded by

very high walls, and entered by means of a grated door. Its interior, which is spacious, presents some little clusters of trees, together with beautifully arranged flower-beds, watered by a fountain, which bubbles up at one extremity. I had followed the procession from the moment of its leaving the city, but, just as it was about to enter the cemetery, I got in front of the bier, fearing that, had I continued behind, the gate would have been closed as soon as it had entered, in order to exclude me. Arrived at the gate, I found the two brothers, magnificent men, who had placed themselves one at each side, and repelled me rather roughly. With some pains I made them understand that I had no intention of interrupting the ceremony, but that I should insist on being admitted, to which they at last consented. I then placed myself in the midst of a clump of palm trees, whence I could perfectly see into the interior of the tomb. When the opening had been closed with slabs I stepped from my retreat, upon which the assistants, who were employed in reciting verses of the Koran, sent up loud cries of indignation ; but, having addressed to them some words of peace, and the brothers having told them that I had their permission to enter, the ferment was allayed, and the chaunting resumed. When the body was entirely covered, the slaves bearing baskets of fruit placed them near the tomb,

and dates, grapes, figs, and oranges were distributed, of which I got some, as well as all the Mussulmans present; the poor had besides some money. As to the plates of cuscussowe, and some baskets of fruits, they were uncovered, but not touched. I observed this, and asked would not they be distributed? ‘God forbid,’ said a Moor, who was by me, ‘those are for us, we are going to eat them at the lady’s house along with her brothers, and all her relations.’ I returned to the city with the two brothers of the deceased, and they entertained me all the way with her eulogy, and that of their father, the Dey, without appearing in the least afflicted.”

The imans are never forgotten in the funeral distribution; a portion, called *talva*, is always carried to the mosque, and presented them, together with a certain sum of money, in order that they may pray during seven days for the repose of the soul of the deceased. Those who pay no money get no prayers, at least from the priests; they are left dependent on the recollection of their friends. Of this, however, they are sure, as no people pay higher honour to their dead than do the Moors. Every Friday, the parents and relatives of a person recently deceased visit his tomb, in the belief that on that day the spirits of the dead hover about it, to converse with each other concerning the objects of their affections left behind on earth. In these

visits little children sometimes bear a part, and the women, on all other occasions so closely immured, are yet obliged to go pray and weep on the tombs of their deceased husbands, or parents. Every family decorates its own burial-place in the best manner it is able; the poor cover theirs with a coat of smooth mortar, which is frequently white-washed; those in a higher rank cultivate flowers on the top of the graves of their deceased friends, within the little rectangle of stones which crowns them; while private burial-places, surrounded by walls, are kept with the extremest care, the walls mantled with ivy or vines, and the tombs shaded by bananas, palm trees, or cypresses. There exists also in most of these a covered gallery, adorned with white marble pillars, beneath which are spread carpets, and reed mats, for the reception of those who come to pray. Not unfrequently a whole family will come to spend their day in this melancholy duty. The Moors do not suffer the dead to be buried amongst the habitations of the living, so that their cemeteries are not round their mosques, but outside the town walls; in the country they are commonly along the road-side, and every traveller who passes offers up a short prayer for the souls of the deceased.

Hitherto we have spoken chiefly of the Moorish men, as they alone are seen in all public ceremonies,

business, festivals, and recreations; but in our next topic, marriage, the females will become entitled to a full share of attention. We have already said something of their general appearance, and described, with some detail, the different steps of their toilette. To the perfection of Algerine beauty the great point necessary is size. “Women are, in fact,” says M. Pananti, a lively Italian writer, “esteemed by their weight. It is on this account that infinite pains are taken to fatten up Moorish ladies: enclosed in a small room, they are fed like the pigeons and doves in Italy. One part of their diet consists of little paste balls, which are dipped in oil: great quantities of these are swallowed, and washed down with water, while the mother is constantly in attendance to enforce their being devoured *bongré malgré*: nor is the bastinado spared, if they refuse the nauseating potion. Thus a young woman, who requires a camel to carry her, is considered a superior beauty; while one, who cannot walk without the assistance of a slave on each side, is considered to have only moderate pretensions to that title!” All this beauty, however, would seem to be of little use, save to enable them to pique one another, for a Moorish girl is seldom seen by one of the opposite sex before marriage, and then is visible to none save her husband. They go abroad seldom, except to visit the baths or the

Marabouts, and on those occasions they are so enveloped in hayks and veils that no part of them, save their eyes, is to be seen. When they are to be indulged with a country ride they are made to enter a cage, closed by a door, and covered with gauze, which is suspended from bars, and borne by mules. The mules are led by slaves, and the husband follows close behind, armed cap-a-pie, as if he were setting out on a military expedition.

Under such circumstances, it is evident that marriage cannot be the result of mutual affection; in fact, the bridegroom seldom sees his bride until the knot is tied, and the contract commonly results from an agreement between the two fathers. The early age, also, at which it occurs, puts all rational affection out of the question. Boys are considered marriageable at thirteen, and girls at ten. Should a young man happen to hear of a maiden whom he thinks likely to please him, he has no other way of satisfying himself as to her beauty and agreeable qualities than by engaging some knowing old woman, by the promise of a handsome present, to meet the young lady either at the bath, or at her own house, converse with her, and return to make him a report. Such old women are easily found; and, if the young man be of rank and fortune, to make him a good match, they generally drop a hint of the commission with which they are charged,

so that the young lady and her parents become no less anxious on their side, and also make liberal offers and promises to ensure the return of a favourable report. It often happens that the offer of this second fee is too much for the integrity of the ambassadress, so that she praises the maiden rather in proportion to her liberality than any of the charms she may possess. The consequence of this is, that repudiations are extremely common, soon after marriage, amongst the Moors; and it is considered sufficient reason that the bride has not answered the description given of her. When the young man, however, has satisfied himself by these, the only means in his power, the next step is to gain the consent, not of his intended, who is never supposed to have a choice in the matter, but of her father, to whom he addresses himself for this purpose. A conference is then held between the two fathers, in which it is settled how much money the young man is to give his father-in-law as the portion, or purchase-money, for his daughter, and what quantity of clothes, jewels, and slaves the father is to bring with him when she is transferred to her husband. These matters being adjusted to their satisfaction, the two old gentlemen go before the Cady, inform him of their intention to marry their children, mention their names, age, and the terms agreed upon, all which the Cady enters in his

registry, and has a copy made out and delivered to each. They then all prostrate themselves, say a short prayer, called *fathea*, for the happiness of the young couple, and retire, after having drank together out of the same cup.

During the interval between this and the day fixed on for the nuptials, presents are sent by the young man and his friends to the house of his intended. He is himself mounted on a horse, and paraded about the town, to the sound of drums and fifes, accompanied by a troop of his friends, some of whom bear banners, others fire their muskets in his face, as a proof of their joy, and the estimation in which they hold him. The ceremony of bringing home the bride is not allowed to take place on any day indifferently; thus it is altogether prohibited during the month Ramadhan, their Lent; neither is it considered auspicious to do this on Tuesday, Wednesday, or Friday, of each week. The day most usually chosen is Thursday; and the hour, after sun-set. At this time, the relatives and friends of the young man set out with lanterns, and torches, and music, to the house of his betrothed; who, after having taken a bath, has been clothed in her most sumptuous attire. They demand her from her father, who orders her female attendants to bring her forth. She appears closely veiled, is immediately placed in a covered sedan,

and borne in triumph to the residence of her intended husband. Arrived there, she is conducted into a chamber prepared for her reception, set out in the best style, and brilliantly lighted up with tapers and coloured lamps. Here she is surrounded by all the women who have accompanied her in the procession, and who remain to sup with her. She also finds there some aged matrons, who instruct her in the duties of a wife, and give her hints for conducting herself in her new situation, intermitting their lessons, however, occasionally, in order to enjoy the good cheer that has been prepared. Meantime, the men are entertained in another apartment with the best cuscussowe, and other seasoned dishes, which the family can provide; nor is wine wanting for those who are not very scrupulous; the bridegroom, however, is strictly forbidden to taste it. Mr. Addison mentions a curious ceremony, which we do not find noticed by other writers: we shall give it in his own words.

“ In the interim of this entertainment, the bachelors make a kind of offering to their wedded companion, in which they observe this method: the bridegroom placeth himself upon a little low seat; behind him stand two negroes, bending his head moderately back; then come the bachelors, who cover the bridegroom's forehead and brow

with *metacales*, or single coins of gold, according to their affection or ability; and as they lengthen on, the negroes strike them off into a basin set for that purpose in the bridegroom's lap, who all the while shuts his eyes. The negroes likewise announce by name each person and his offering, saying, 'Such an one lays on so much, God enlarge his life and riches.' And this continues until all the bachelors have been at the corban."

The feast often lasts till midnight; when the women, having conducted the bride to her chamber, and chaunted a hymn in praise of marriage, take their leave; after which, the men having also departed, the bridegroom is suffered to visit her, and now, for the first time, beholds the face of his spouse.

Next morning, all the women assemble, with tabors in their hands, enter the chamber of the bride, who is dressed, and seated cross-legged on a cushion, and commence dancing before her, uttering shouts of joy. The women retire in the evening, and as, during their stay, they are unveiled, the husband is prevented from entering the chamber of his bride. This ceremony lasts for three days; during which all women are privileged to come and see the new married lady, who remains seated on her cushions from morning until evening, without taking any part in the joy by which she is

surrounded. At the end of the third day the house is shut, and then the husband assumes his full rights.

Every Moor is allowed to marry four wives, and afterwards to take as many *kadeem*, or concubines, as he is able to support. The latter privilege is freely indulged in, black women being generally chosen for the purpose, and answering, at the same time, as slaves to their master's wife. As to the former, they are by no means so ready to avail themselves of it; most Moors thinking, probably, as we do, that one wife is enough at a time, inasmuch that Mr. Jackson tells us, "that in a tract of country possessing a population of one hundred thousand souls, a hundred men will scarcely be found who keep four." Their chief objection seems to be the expense of maintaining them; "I saw frequently," says M. Rozet, "an old Moor, who lived in a house with his son, who paid him no manner of attention, and fought with him from morning till night. 'If you had a wife,' said I, one day, 'she would take care of you, and you would be much more happy.'—'I want neither wife nor poultry,' said he, 'they cost too much to feed.' "

Polygamy is more common in the towns than in the country, and the women are generally employed in the affairs of the house, making cuscus-

sowes and pillaws, being their chief accomplishment. When a new wife is taken, the former wives live for seven days deprived of all manner of intercourse with their husband, who, for this space of time, devotes himself entirely to his bride. On the seventh day, he introduces her to his other wives, whose brows she is obliged to kiss, tells them that they should not be angry, that their holy law allows her an equal share with them in his affections, promises to divide his attentions fairly amongst them, and exhorts them to unanimity and concord. This exhortation is generally attended to, or, at least, their bickerings are kept amongst themselves, and not allowed to interfere with their husband's peace: who would soon terminate the dispute by locking them all up in their own rooms, and feeding them for some days on nothing but rice and water, and if this failed, by divorcing the most refractory. In fact, a husband's power over his wives is of the most arbitrary nature; and, if he chooses to use it, he may tyrannize over his unfortunate victims without control, no one being able to assist them, as no one can enter the harem without his permission. M. Renaudot, who certainly always tells the worst story he can of this people, mentions, that a Moor went one day to the cady, and told him that he had found it necessary to cut off the head of one of his wives, as she would not

live in peace with the rest. "You were right," said the cady, coolly sipping his coffee, "next time try and get one of a sweeter temper."

According to law, certainly, a man who murders his wife is liable to punishment; but the proof is extremely difficult, as he has only to send her parents word that she is very sick, refuse them access to her, and report a little after that she is dead, when a hasty burial puts an end to all inquiries, or, at the worst, a bribe to the cady will often have the same effect. A divorce is, however, the more ordinary mode of getting rid of an unruly wife, and nothing is more easily arranged; the husband just intimates his will to the wife, and she immediately, with whatever clothes she may have on her, returns to her father, who, in such case, keeps as an indemnity the dowry originally paid for her. The wife, also, if she feels herself aggrieved, by neglect, by undue partiality to the other wives, or any other cause, is permitted to appeal to the cady for a divorce. This habit, however, is not much encouraged, and, indeed, is only resorted to when there is very substantial cause. The cady, upon receiving the complaint, summons both the wife and husband before him, inquires into the truth of the statements, which, if denied by the husband, are then referred to the testimony of their nearest neighbours. If confirmed by them, or if

at once admitted by the husband, the lady tears in pieces the bill of their marriage, which he had confirmed, declares the marriage void, and certifies the divorce under his seal; after which, they are both at liberty to form new connexions. Should they however, repent of their disagreements, and wish to be re-united, it is strictly forbidden, until the woman has been married to another man, remained in his house for twenty-four hours, and then been by him divorced, after which, she may again return to her first husband. This is a thing of very common occurrence in Barbary; and, in such cases, the husband engages one of his friends to go through this ceremony for him, and restore him his wife on the following day, remaining absent from his own house as long as the lady is in it. This complaisance is generally handsomely paid for, in proportion to the beauty of the female, and her first husband's anxiety to repossess her; at times, however, the second husband, when he has lifted her veil, which is a necessary part of the ceremony, becomes so enamoured, that he refuses to relinquish his prize, and retains the spouse thus brought him by chance.

The prolonged absence of a husband is admitted as a sufficient cause why his wife should seek a divorce. In such cases, she need only repair to

the cady, and say, “ My husband has been absent so many years, or months ; I am tired of living alone, and intend taking another.” The cady addresses a few words of advice, and then says, “ You may do so ;” after which, she is free to form a new connexion.

It occasionally happens, that a woman may even succeed in getting her husband punished, if his conduct towards her has been extremely outrageous ; but in all such cases, and indeed wherever justice is sought, it is an established custom, that the petitioner should make a present to the cady. The consequence of neglecting to comply with this rule may be seen in the following anecdote. A young and very beautiful Moorish woman, in the province of Mascara, threw herself at the feet of the cady, and demanded justice on her husband, who daily ill-treated her, without any reason. The cady immediately sent for the husband, and, without hearing him, ordered him three hundred bastinadoes on the soles of his feet, which were at once administered. Hereupon, the wife again prostrated herself before the cady, and overwhelmed him with her thanks ; but she had come with empty hands, and to warn her against such an omission in future, she was hoisted on her husband’s shoulders, and got forty bastinadoes on her posteriors

gratuitously. The husband and wife then each kissed the hand of their judge, and returned home in peace.

Yet it is not always that a poor woman can even obtain this much satisfaction. There is no law or regular institution in their favour; but they are left, in a great measure, relying on the whim and caprice of their judge. They are not even sure of meeting with sympathy and assistance from their own family. One of them, who suffered much from her husband's ill humour, went to her father's one day in great grief, complaining that her husband had struck her a severe blow on the cheek. The father no sooner heard this, than he gave her another, saying, "You will inform your husband, that having struck my daughter, I have struck his wife, so now we are quits." When, under any circumstances, a divorce is granted at the request of the wife, her father is obliged to restore the dowry, which again returns to her husband.

The Moors look on their women as forming an inferior race, and treating them accordingly, compel them to undergo the severest drudgery, while they themselves are reclining in the most careless indolence. Thus, in addition to the cares of the house, and the management of their children, the women are compelled, towards evening, to fit

themselves with a pitcher or goat-skin, and in this manner trudge sometimes two or three miles to draw water for the family. “ Yet, in the midst of all these labours and incumbrances,” says Dr. Shaw, “ not one of these country ladies will lay aside any of their ornaments ; neither their nose-jewels, (*Isai.* iii. 22. *Ezek.* xvi. 10.) used still by the Levant Arabs ; neither their bracelets, or their shackles, ‘ the tinkling ornaments of their feet’ (*Isai.* iii. 16.) ; neither their ear-rings, nor looking-glasses¹, which they hang upon their breasts ; neither the tingeing their eye-lids with lead ore ; so prevalent is custom, even in the most uncivilized parts of Barbary, and so very zealous are these homely creatures to appear in the mode and fashion.” Another occupation of wives of the lower order of Moors is to strike and pitch the tents, when their husbands are on a journey ; the men, meantime, seating themselves in a circle on the sand, and conversing on indifferent subjects, or smoking their pipes. This task, however, is only reserved for the wives of a very low order of Moors, but is more common amongst the Arabs, in speaking of whom we shall have occasion to revert to it. In the cities, and with the wealthier

¹ The mirrors used by the Hebrew women were of polished brass, as we learn from *Exod.* xxxviii. 8.

classes of Moors, jealousy is so powerful a passion as to overcome all others, and consequently prevents their females being employed in any out-door work, which would subject them to the gaze of other men. This jealousy is carried to such lengths, that a woman is not suffered to see her nearest male friends, or even her husband's brother, without a veil; and when one woman goes to visit another, she indicates her presence by leaving her slippers at the door of the apartment, and while those remain the master of the house himself may not enter. This jealousy sometimes drives to acts of the most horrid atrocity.

Pananti relates that the governor of a province, being obliged to march against a neighbouring prince, who had sworn his destruction, retired for seven days to the country, where engrossed by the depths of his harem, he yielded himself up to all the pleasures of a Mussulman's life. Obligated at last to tear himself from the arms of the lovely band by whom he was surrounded, and unable to bear the thought of leaving them behind, perhaps to fall into the hands or grace the triumph of his adversary, he had them all deliberately murdered, and then set off to assume the command of his army. It may readily be supposed, that where such enormities are permitted to occur, without any other cause than a feeling of the most detest-

able and depraved selfishness, nothing short of death can satisfy them, in case of any intrigue or illicit intercourse. This is the uniform punishment, the man occasionally escaping if his relations be wealthy and powerful, and able to purchase his indemnity, or terrify the injured husband into dropping proceedings, but the unhappy female never. Husband and father are alike bent on her destruction; she has disgraced them both, both feel themselves dishonoured, and this can only be atoned for by her immediate death, which is usually inflicted by placing a bow-string round her neck, or tying her up in a sack, and throwing her into the sea, having first given her a hundred bastinadoes on the stomach. The mode of punishment decreed by law for the man who has participated in her crime, is stoning to death, which is done in the most public manner, the day being first openly proclaimed; the criminal is then brought to the place of execution, stripped naked, and buried up to the middle in a pit prepared for the purpose, when every one present throws at him one stone and no more, saying, "This is for thy filthy transgression of the law;" and the numbers assembled on such occasions are usually so great, that by the stones a perfect heap is formed, which remains as an awful warning to others against a similar offence. Sometimes, if the young man have been of rank, his friends are

allowed the privilege of having him put to death privately, to avoid the public disgrace thus brought upon the family. Yet, notwithstanding all this severity, instances of intrigue are far from being uncommon; the terraced roofs of the houses, by which an easy passage is attained from one to another, the complete disguise in which women walk the streets, and the perfect freedom allowed them of visiting the baths or the Marabouts, being all facilities afforded for clandestine assignations, of which they know well how to avail themselves. The tragic end of such adventures often lends them a melancholy interest, and where circumstances of extenuation can be alleged, we almost, despite our better reason, pity the criminals, while we must condemn the crime. The daughter of a rich merchant at Tunis, had become deeply enamoured of a young Moor, who on his side returned her attachment with equal ardour and fidelity. The Moor was wealthy, and nobly born, so that his proposals met with every encouragement from the merchant, and matters had even gone so far that the bridal presents had been sent and accepted. A rather greater freedom of manners prevails at Tunis than at Algiers, so that the young couple were allowed a meeting in the presence of the bride's family, before whom the betrothed husband had an opportunity of pouring forth all his raptures,

and hearing in return the gratifying confession of a mutual flame. Everything was adjusted: the happy day was fixed, and the young Moor had already summoned his friends and acquaintances to assist in bearing home his bride, when the report of her exquisite beauty and charms, reached the ears of the Bey's secretary, an old worn out debauchee, who had lately lost one of his wives, and was then anxious to supply her place, and make a new addition to the attractions of his harem. An old woman was employed to visit the maiden, and brought back such a glowing account of her surpassing loveliness, as inflamed to the uttermost the secretary's desire to possess her. Accordingly, next morning the merchant received an order to attend the Bey's levee, when it was graciously intimated to him, that the secretary had done him the high honour of selecting his daughter as a fourth wife. Refusal was of course out of the question, bare hesitation would have cost the merchant his head, or what he no less valued, his goods; he prostrated himself on the earth, expressed his deep gratitude for the signal favour done him, and returned to his own house, where he announced the Bey's will, and ordered the presents of the young Moor to be forthwith returned. We are not writers of romance, so that we would in vain endeavour to depict the overwhelming grief

of the young people at this unlooked for intelligence. The Bey's commands were absolute, and the maiden was borne to the secretary's harem, and added to its already numerous unhappy occupants. After a short time, the zest of novelty having passed away, she found herself, like them, neglected and deserted; and now, thoughts of her former love would recur with double force, and visions of the happiness she might have enjoyed, floated through her imagination. The unvarying sameness and total inactivity of a harem life, afforded nothing that might distract her from these dangerous contemplations, which she dwelt on with a too fatal pleasure, when her favourite servant, who had accompanied her from her father's, one day informed her that she had seen the object of all her thoughts, who had at first fled from Tunis, and sought by absence and travel to forget his affection and woes; but had returned only to feel both more intensely than before. The consequences, where the aid of religion was totally wanting, and the only check arose from the fear of detection and punishment, may easily be imagined. Messages were exchanged; an interview eagerly pressed for on one side, was at first scarcely refused, but after a little further entreaty granted, on the other; an appointment was made, and it was agreed that the young man should scale the walls of the harem

by means of a rope, which the servant would fix on the inside. The night selected was one on which the secretary was to dine with the Bey, and it was expected would remain late. All matters were prepared as agreed upon; the Moor climbed, and had nearly reached the top, when suddenly the rope snapped, and he fell heavily to the ground, where he lay grievously bruised and unable to move. The terror of the unfortunate females was extreme; but they were allowed short time for deliberation. The secretary suddenly and unexpectedly returned: explanation seemed unnecessary; there lay his wife's former lover, maimed by the fall, and there hung the fragment of the rope, still fastened on the inside, which they had neglected or forgotten to remove. The sequel is short and easily told: with a single blow he struck his dagger into the heart of the disabled Moor, then rushing to his father-in-law, detailed the circumstances, and demanded his aid in avenging the indignity thus done to both their honours. This was at once granted; they returned, summoned the distracted lady to their presence, and applying a cord to her neck, terminated in a moment her woes and her life.

Yet there are certain cases in which the most improbable stories are credited, cases which to us would appear decisive of guilt. Thus, if six months

after marriage a wife should present her husband with a child, he exhibits no uneasiness at the premature arrival of the young stranger ; but receiving from her the following simple explanation, “ God has sent it to me,” he is perfectly satisfied, and seriously considers it as a favour from heaven, that he has obtained a child three months sooner than might have been expected. A woman, also, finding herself pregnant a year after her husband’s departure on a journey, goes to the magistrate, and informs him of the extraordinary fact. The magistrate, according to a precept in the Koran, replies, “ The child has been asleep in your womb, but is awaked,” which explanation is offered by her wife to her husband on his return, and is frequently admitted as satisfactory.

Moorish women are, in general, strongly attached to their children, and lavish on them all their care. Their feelings, repressed in every other direction, seem but to shoot out more forcibly in this. They are, in fact, their sole companions, and are invariably kept in the neatest order, their bodies being washed every day from head to foot, their hair carefully combed, and frequently dyed of a reddish tint, with henna. The little girls, in addition to their hair, have their nails, the palms of their hands, and soles of their feet, tinged with the same colour, from the age of three years. Much pride is felt in having the

children richly clad; the boys in embroidered robes, with handsome silk girdles, and caps adorned with gold pieces; the girls in silk drawers, the colours of which vary according to their rank, while their ears and neck are laden with gold chains and jewels. The woman who bears her husband a male child is always treated with additional respect and attention, so that from this, as well as the affection they always exhibit towards their offspring, we may well doubt the assertion, that they ever take means to procure miscarriage. Child-birth is conducted with much decency and decorum, the suffering woman being assisted only by her female relatives, and the *cabla*, or mother, synonymous with our midwife. Dari mentions a singular superstition which we suppose must have been since discontinued, as we do not find it noticed by later writers; his description of it is the following:—"When their women are in child-bed they use a superstition, which appeared to me not a little strange. It is that they send to seek in the schools four little children, to whom they give to each a corner of a sufficiently large linen napkin, in the centre of which is placed a hen's egg. With this napkin these children proceed at once through the street, singing a certain incantation, and responding to one another; this being heard by the Turks and Moors, they forthwith, being touched with pity, issue from their

houses, bearing vessels full of water, which they pour on the middle of the napkin, in which the egg is laid, and believe, that at the same moment that the water breaks the napkin, the woman in the pangs of labour, is happily delivered. This," the worthy father adds, "could only occur from some secret compact with the devil!" Naming and circumcising the child, are two separate ceremonies, and not performed at the same time. The former is done seven days after the child is born; the latter sometimes not until he has attained the age of four, six, or even eight years, as they do not think any one dying without that rite is therefore necessarily excluded from paradise. The usual time of the year for circumcising is during the feast of Mouload, that kept in honour of Mohammed's birth, and then children of all ages, from one up to eight, are presented together to undergo the operation. On occasion of giving the name to the child, the father makes a feast: the name, however, must be given in a public assembly, for which purpose the father goes to the mosque at the hour of evening prayer, taking with him several bowls of cuscussowe, one of which is set apart for the priest, the rest belonging to the congregation. As soon as prayers are ended, the people assembled demand of the father what he will call his child? and, if the name he gives be not satisfactory, they proceed to choose another,

which is decided by lot. "Every man here," says Addison, "having a vote in the naming of his neighbour's child." When the point is agreed on, they all pray that the child may live, prove rich and valiant, and understand the Koran; then they eat the cuscussowe, and the matter is finished. Circumcision is performed with much more ceremony; yet it is singular that in neither has the priest any distinct office, the reason of which would appear to be, that these matters are not considered amongst the essentials of their religion. Of the mode of administering this rite, we shall take the account of Ali Bey, who had an opportunity of seeing it performed at Tangiers. The place chosen was a sanctuary or hermitage, about a quarter of a mile from the city, where some celebrated saint had been buried, and a tomb and chapel erected in honour of his remains.

"Though circumcisions occur every day during the feast of Mouload, I waited for the last, because I was assured that on that day they would be most numerous; in fact, on that day all the streets were crowded with people, going and returning in groups, and with soldiers armed with muskets.

"At ten in the morning I left my house, and traversing the crowd to reach the chapel, I met on the road groups of three, four, and even many children, whom they were taking to be circumcised.

The plain was covered with soldiers, inhabitants, Arabs, and clusters of women closely veiled, and seated under the shadow of the trees. These women, when the children were passing before them, uttered cries extremely piercing, which, on their part, is always a mark of encouragement and joy. Arrived at the hermitage, I traversed the courtyard, in the midst of an innumerable crowd, and entered the chapel, where I found the following preparations.

“ By the side of the saint’s tomb, were placed five men, clad only in a shirt and drawers, and having their sleeves tucked up to their shoulders. Four of these men were seated facing the gate of the chapel, the fifth was standing by the side of the gate ready to receive the little ones; two of those seated were furnished with operating instruments; the other two held sacks or purses filled with an astringent powder. Behind these four officiating ministers were placed about twenty children of different ages and colours, who also had a part to play in the ceremony, as we shall presently see: and at some paces distant was an orchestra, composed of drums, horns, and pipes, much more remarkable for the strength than sweetness of its music. When a neophyte arrived, the father, or the person who had charge of him, stepped forward, entered the chapel, kissed the cheek of the officiating minister, and

presented his offering. The child was then brought; he was at once seized by the person at the door, and handed, with his clothes properly tucked up, to the circumciser; at the same moment the music struck up with great noise; the children placed behind also commenced shouting, and having attracted the attention of the infant, pointed with their fingers towards the ceiling. Astonished and stupified by the clamour, the infant looked up, and the operation was instantly performed at a single stroke; astringent powder was thrown on by the men who held the sacks, lint applied by another, and the child removed and returned to his friends. The whole operation did not last half a minute, though it was performed very rudely. Each infant was then placed on the back of a woman, who bore him home covered with a hayk, or burnoose, and accompanied by the same escort as on his arrival¹."

Moorish women in general suckle their own children; and this custom is so universally prevalent in Morocco, that the Empress herself is obliged for the first seven days to give her child the breast. The girls remain always at home with their mothers, from whom they learn skill in cookery, and perhaps the mode of embroidering, to which we may say their education is in general confined. The boys,

¹ Circumcision is said not to be required on the admission of a renegade.

at the age of six, are sent to the public schools, where the chief instruction is in reading and writing the Koran, and in performing the ceremonies of their religion. When he has attained a certain degree of perfection in these, he is considered accomplished; and being decked out in sumptuous apparel is mounted upon a horse, richly caparisoned, and conducted through the streets by his school-fellows with loud acclamations, whilst his parents have prepared a feast, at which all their friends assemble to congratulate them, and load the young scholar with presents. After this his future destination is fixed, either for the army, which is considered the most honourable, or for the church, if he have shown so much talent as to have attracted the notice of the imans, who in such case generally take much pains to give his inclinations that direction, or for some trade, or other occupation, suited to the means and situation of his father. A few qualify themselves, by a more extended course of study, to become secretaries, which is a sufficiently lucrative occupation, as most Moors, particularly of the higher ranks, soon forget whatever little they had acquired at school, and deem it unworthy of them to do any thing of this nature for themselves, many of them being incapable even of signing their own names.

On the whole, we may consider them as a people of good natural capabilities, repressed or misdirected

by a constant course of oppression and tyranny. Their character possesses elements capable of brilliancy and refinement in a high degree; but to elicit these qualities will require laws wisely adapted, and steadily administered; a mode of education calculated rather to elevate them beyond than rudely to contradict their feelings and prejudices; but above all, the distribution of justice without partiality or venality, and the liberal opening of places of rank, trust, and emolument to persons, no matter of what grade, provided they merit them by their conduct and abilities.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ARABS

Original settlement—Of two kinds—Appearance—Dress—Mode of ornament—Arms—Habitations—Mode of making and pitching tent—Furniture—A douwar—A askrah—Under-ground village—Arab character—Cruelty—Instances—Hospitality to strangers—Mode of Claiming it—Conversation—Hospitality seldom violated—Anecdote—Mode of life—Temperance—Nature of food—Preparation of flour—Of meat—Fasting in desert—Arabs live to old age—Respect for age—Salutations.

It was towards the middle of the seventh century that Othman, the third Khalif, having conquered Cyprus, and ravaged Cappadocia, determined on turning his victorious arms towards the Barbary states, then nominally a Roman province, but, in consequence of the recent death of the Emperor Heraclius, and the unsettled state of the whole empire, in a state of the greatest anarchy and confusion. The Saracen, or Arab, power was then in the full burst of its early glory. Flushed with conquest, and believing themselves specially

commissioned by Heaven to spread their newly-acquired creed, they rushed to battle as to a certain victory, and felt little fear of death, which they were assured was an immediate introduction to the highest sensual enjoyments. With eighty thousand of these warriors Occuba, Othman's general, crossed the deserts of Barca, and easily dissipating the troops hastily collected to oppose his invasion, overrun the eastern parts of Barbary, and penetrated as far as the gates of Carthage. Gregory, who had assumed the Roman government in this province, in vain endeavoured to repel these new and fierce invaders. His armies were routed, his towns taken, his most fertile lands sacked and laid waste, his people put to the sword, or obliged to relinquish Christianity, and embrace the faith of Islam, and he himself at length compelled to fly to Italy, leaving the whole country to his victorious rivals. They soon extended their conquests, and confirmed their power. Cities were built, governors appointed, tributes levied. Part of the army returned home, laden with rich booty, while the remainder staid in their newly-acquired country, where, from a similarity of habits, they soon gained a certain degree of familiarity with the inhabitants, and too easily prevailed on them to forsake the pure and self-denying religion of Jesus for the

voluptuous tenets and sensual rewards promised to the followers of Mohammed. This was the introduction at the same time of the Arabs as a people, and of their faith as the national religion. Neither have been since extinguished. But the Arab, haughty and disdainful, refused to mix himself with the people he had conquered; a restless disposition, and desire for new achievements, drew back many to their own country, while, of those that staid, some few only consented to the restraints of settled life, the rest, following the customs of their ancestors, became a wild and wandering race, and, gradually retiring from cities and towns, betook themselves to untenanted wastes and trackless deserts, where, if they

“ Chanced to find

A new repast, or an untasted spring,

They blessed their stars, and thought it luxury.”

We have thus a division of the Barbary Arabs into two kinds, which we may denominate the sedentary, and the Bedoween or wandering Arab. The former is either attached to the soil as an agriculturist, and inhabits a hut, generally sufficiently wretched, or dwells in towns, where he mixes himself in commerce and trade; while the latter, with no other shelter than his tent, spends his life in driving his wretched flock from one-half scorched patch of herbage to another, acknowledging no law

but the will of his Sheikh, and feeling no excitement but the occasional call to plunder a caravan, which chance may have placed within his reach. They are, however, both originally the same people, the former perhaps a little altered by intermixture with other races, but the latter, preserving their blood pure and their customs, even from a remote antiquity, unchanged. From them therefore shall our description principally be taken.

The Arabs of the desert are generally of a good medium height, well made, and muscular, but not plump. They have high foreheads, high cheek bones, cheeks thin, nose inclined to aquiline, chin rounded, and mouth well shaped. Their complexion is of an olive tint, deepened, in some instances, almost to black, by constant exposure; their eyes are black and sparkling; their hair also black, coarse, and very thick. The men cut theirs with their knives to a length of about six or eight inches, and wear it sticking out from the head in every direction. They all wear long beards; their limbs are straight, and they can endure hunger, thirst, hardships, and fatigues, probably better than any other people under heaven. Their senses are sharpened to the highest degree by constant exercise; a Bedoween will hear the murmuring of distant water, or see, in a slight cloud of dust, the approach of a distant caravan, when these things

are to an European totally imperceptible. The women are short, and rather stunted, from the severe treatment which they receive, and the constant hardships which they are compelled to undergo. Their features are in general rather harsher than those of the men; but occasionally a young Arab girl may be seen of extreme beauty, their eyes being usually full, dark, and very expressive, while their long black hair, braided and folded round the head, gives a graceful finish to the entire figure.

Their dress closely resembles that of the Berbers, which we have already described. The men wear the hayk and burnoose, but seldom wear any thing beneath the hayk, if we except the Sheikhs, who are always better clad than the multitude, and who have not only shirts of linen, but even large trowsers, like the Moors, and red boots. Of the Arabs in the desert, some go almost in a state of complete nudity. M. Poiret has seen some in this state, and others with only a slight pair of drawers. Mr. Riley, who had the misfortune to be a captive amongst them for some time, represents their usual clothing as nothing more than a piece of coarse cloth, made of camel's hair, tied round their waists, and hanging nearly down to their knees, or a goat's skin, so fastened on as to cover their nakedness. Few Arabs wear slippers; they commonly envelope their feet in a piece of cow's skin, with the hair

turned outwards, which they lace round the foot, and up the leg, with a cord, made from the bark of a tree, passed through holes along the edge of the skin. Many of them, however, go barefoot; Riley states this to be the universal custom in the western desert. They never wear a turban; those in the neighbourhood of Algiers shave the head, but only cover it with the corner of the hayk, fastened by the aid of brown wool, or with the hood of their burnoose¹.

The costume of the women is equally simple, and consists of a chemise of white wool, made wide, with very short sleeves, fastened round the waist by a cord, and reaching to about the knees. They wear their hair long, and either flowing on the shoulders, or braided round the head. They have flowers tattooed on different parts of their bodies, as is also usual with the Berber women, and dye their nails, the inside of their hands, and soles of their feet with henna. The hayk, or barracan, is adopted when they go out, the texture being of the finest cotton and silk, mixed; while, if the weather be cold, another of pure white wool is

¹ More to the east, particularly in Tripoli, a red cap, occasionally finished by a blue silk tassel hanging gracefully to one side, is the common covering of the head. It is mentioned both by Lyon in his "Travels in Northern Africa," and Tully in the "Letters from Tripoli," and may be seen figured in the plates of each book. Both these authors also seem to agree in terming the dress, which we have called hayk, a "*barracan*."

worn over the whole, and forms a graceful and flowing drapery. Arab women of the higher order wear a barracan even in the house, as a finish to their dress, but this is of fine silk muslin, or gauze. They display the same love for ornaments as the Moorish women, and their ears, necks, arms, and ancles are loaded with rings, collars, and circlets, of value proportioned to their means, from the gold and silver, enriched with precious stones, of the wealthy, to the iron, copper, or even strings of berries that set off the sun-burnt charms of poorer maidens. The eyes are universally painted with the kohol, or powder of lead ore; the eye-brows dyed, and all stray hairs carefully eradicated; between them is generally tattooed a flower, or a hand, which is considered a great preservative against spells; the ends of their tresses are adorned with bits of glass, tin, China beads, and coral, and some of them even undergo the very painful operation of having a bead inserted in the cheek, which only shows that female vanity may be a feeling almost as strong in savage as in civilized life. But a more singular mode of adding to their charms is followed by the Arab maidens of the western desert, for an account of which we are indebted to Mr. Riley. Their teeth are of extreme beauty, regularity, and whiteness; in order to display which for constant admiration, they take great pains to

make the two eye-teeth project forward, and turn up quite in front of the line of the other fore-teeth, in order that the upper lip may constantly be held up, and not suffered to intercept the view. They are not so particular about being veiled as the Moorish females; those of the poorer sort, particularly, seldom cover their faces, except when about to accompany their husbands to some town: in the tents they are always uncovered, and manifest no uneasiness at the presence of a stranger.

The men are as particular about their arms as the women about their trinkets. An Arab is often bequeathed his father's horse and gun, and with them an injunction to revenge his death—an injunction which is always faithfully performed. Usually they wear a belt round the waist, holding their pistols and ammunition, while the gun is slung over the shoulder. The sword is seldom assumed, unless when they are on horseback, and then it is suspended by the side of the saddle in such a way as to lie under the left leg, with the hilt near the pommel.

The dwellings of the Arabs are called by their inhabitants beet-el-shaar, or "hair-houses;" and a more appropriate designation could scarcely be found; the materials of which they are generally formed, being camel's or goat's hair, sometimes eked out with the addition of fibres from the palm

tree, the whole wove or matted together, so as to make a thick dark looking cloth, equally impenetrable to the rays of the sun as the torrents of rain. Their colour and general appearance, suggested to Doctor Shaw the peculiar force and applicability of the comparison, which, to a mere European, is scarcely intelligible. “I am black, but comely¹, like the tents of Kedar,” (Cantic. i. 5); “For nothing certainly,” says the Doctor, “can afford a more delightful prospect than a large extensive plain, whether in its verdure, or even scorched up by the sun-beams, with these moveable habitations pitched in circles upon it.” Of the method in which this cloth is fabricated we have a full account from many travellers. The hair is originally spun with a hand-spindle, and being twisted with the forefinger and thumb of the right hand, and doubled until it is the thickness of a goose quill, is then rolled up into a ball, and laid by for use. When a sufficient quantity is spun, and they have agreed on remaining stationary for a few days, the operation of weaving is commenced by driving pegs into the ground in two parallel lines, at a distance from each other of about two feet. This is to be the breadth of the web, and around these pegs the yarn is warped, and a wooden sword being run through it, under one thread and over the next, the filling in is

¹ Pleasant to the view.

done by hand, and the whole pressed down by a wooden implement, not unlike a comb, so that the texture acquires a degree of strength and thickness, together with an evenness and workmanlike appearance, that could only be given by the hand of an Arab. The web is continued to the entire length which it is intended the tent-cover shall be, and then several of these strips being stretched together by passing some of the same yarn through holes made along their edges with an iron bodkin, and a few loops being attached to its ends and along the sides, the work is complete. To pitch it, it is only necessary to spread it out on the ground, fasten ropes to the loops, of which we have spoken, and drive stout pegs into the ground, to which these ropes are made fast. A man then creeps in under the tent, taking with him the tent-pole, which is about eight or ten feet high, and three or four inches in thickness, its lower end sharpened, and the upper finished by a round block of wood, in the shape of an inverted bowl. The sharp end he places in a hole already prepared in the centre of the space marked out, and, elevating the other, raises on its rounded end the whole web, which being restrained by the ropes round its edges, is thus drawn into nearly the shape of a great umbrella, and the pole being firmly pressed down, and the ropes again drawn tight on the pegs, the simple

dwelling is complete, and ready for the reception of its inhabitants. If the family be numerous, and the tent large, two tent-poles are erected, and then the whole assumes an appearance very much resembling the inverted keel of a ship, the model after which, according to Sallust, the ancient Numidians (*Nomad*, or wandering tribes,) built their huts or *mapalia*. The whole tent thus fixed, is, by the length of the ropes, allowed to be raised nearly two feet from the ground, by which means a free circulation of air through them is insured, a matter absolutely necessary in so hot a climate. When the French army first disembarked at Sidy-efroudy, the officers had the sides of their tents drawn down to the ground, and even some earth thrown around them to make them more comfortable, but they soon found themselves obliged to imitate the inhabitants of the country; for the tents thus hermetically sealed became actually like ovens during the burning heat of the day, and retained so much of it at night that it was impossible to sleep in them. During the summer the Bedoween frequently lies outside his tent, surrounded by his cattle, whom a fence of thorny bushes protects from the assaults of wild beasts; but in winter he retires under cover, and is then to be found, with his wives, children, slaves, horses, camels, goats, sheep, and pullets, all huddled together, mutually giving and receiv-

ing warmth. The furniture is well adapted to so primitive a habitation. The tent-pole, stuck with hooks, is rendered useful for holding the clothes, baskets, saddles, and arms of the master and the family. A sheep-skin, or rush mat, constitutes the bed; a few earthen vessels for culinary purposes, or holding the milk of the camels or cows; a few leather or skin bags for holding water, or conveying their milk, when they are on the march; the weaving machinery, before mentioned; a few agricultural tools, an earthen lamp, a mill to grind corn, composed of two stones, fitting the one into the other, and turned by the hand, complete the simple inventory.

The tent is sometimes divided by a screen or curtain running across it, and cutting off a portion, which is assigned as a sleeping place for the married people; the rest lie promiscuously on the mat. The Arabs generally live in tribes, and when a number of their tents are pitched together in a circular form, with the common opening towards Mecca, the hollow space in the centre appropriated for assembling their flocks at night, and a large tent set apart for the performance of religious ceremonies, this constitutes a *douwar* or tent-village, always presided over by a sheikh, and generally possessing an Iman to look after their spiritual concerns. Each tribe of Arabs is designated by

the title *welled*, son of, prefixed to the name of its founder, as amongst the Kabyles, *Beni* has the same meaning and use. Thus Welled Halfer, Beni Rashid, mean sons of Halfer, sons of Rashid. These douwars may consist of a very variable number of tents, according to the strength of the tribe. Doctor Shaw has seen them from two to three hundred. The sedentary Arabs generally inhabit huts, built of the branches of trees interwoven with long grass, and thatched with reeds or the leaves of the date tree. From ten to forty of these cabins are generally assembled together, and constitute what is termed a *daskrah*. A larger house in the centre is occupied by the sheikh, and they sometimes present a mosque built of lime and stone. There is a singular village of the Arabs, on the mountains of Gouriana, south of Tripoli, in which the houses are all under ground, and reached only by a long winding excavated passage, so high as to admit a camel; but so narrow, that one man could defend it against an army. The tribe that inhabit it are robbers, and from the peculiar nature of their retreat, are quite safe, when once they have reached it, from further pursuit or punishment.

The Arab possesses in a high degree the virtues and vices of uncivilized life. He is high-spirited, brave, and generous, hospitable to the stranger who claims his protection; but revengeful, avaricious,

and wantonly cruel in his pursuit of plunder. From this he cannot be deterred by almost any force : unable to attack an entire caravan, the wandering band will hover around it, and eagerly pounce on the first unfortunate straggler who, through fatigue or curiosity, may have separated from the main body. "There was scarce a pilgrim," says Doctor Shaw, "and we were upwards of six thousand, who did not suffer either by losing a part of his clothes or his money ; and when these failed them, the barbarians took their revenge by unmercifully beating us with their pikes and javelins. It would be too tedious to relate the many instances of that day's cruelty and rapine, in which I myself had a principal share, being forcibly taken to Jeremiel or Anathoth, as a hostage for the payment of their unreasonable demands, where I was very barbarously used and insulted all that night ; and provided the Aga of Jerusalem, with a great force, had not rescued me the next morning, I should not have seen so speedy an end of my sufferings."

But of the way in which they treat their captives, a much more affecting picture is to be found in the narrative of Mr. Riley, who, with some of his companions, had the misfortune to fall into their hands by the wreck of an American trading vessel to which they belonged, on the western coast of the Great Desert. These unfortunate persons, after

wandering a few days along the shore, and having consumed all their provisions, saw no other resource from dying of starvation, than that of delivering themselves up as slaves to the Arabs. For this purpose they struck into the desert, and soon discovered an encampment of about a hundred people, who were then busied in giving water to their camels. No sooner had they spied the wretched mariners, than they eagerly ran towards them, seized them with violence, pulled them from one to another, tore the clothes off their backs, and finally, unable to settle the question of property in any other way, drew their swords and commenced a regular combat, in the course of which the captives were every moment in danger of being cut to pieces. Some old men at length interfered, the captives were assigned as slaves to certain individuals, and naked, exhausted, and parched with thirst, were driven with repeated blows of sticks into the camp. Here they were supplied with a large bowl of water, black, filthy and disgusting, with which was mixed a little sour camel's milk. Wretched as was this fare, it tasted delicious to men whose mouths were actually white, and parched with thirst, while the blood oozed from their cracked lips. But it speedily brought on a dysentery, so that they were reduced to the last state of weakness, when they

were suddenly ordered by signs to assist in striking the camp, and preparing for a journey. Remonstrance was in vain; they were urged by blows to perform what was required of them, and compelled, when all was done, to set off on foot after the camels, and keep them together, though at every step they sank nearly up to the knees in the sand. In this unfortunate state they struggled on, cut to the bone by sharp flints or points of rock, which occasionally stuck up in their way, and having their whole body blistered by the burning heat of the sun's rays, to which they were exposed without the least rag to cover them. If they paused for a moment to recover breath, or overcome by their torments, seemed inclined to relinquish the attempt in despair, they were at once whipped or goaded forward by the Arabs, who evinced much pleasure in looking at their feeble efforts to advance. Their trials, however, were not yet at an end. Nature seemed at last worn out, and their masters observing that they were literally unable, from the state of their feet, to walk another step, determined on affording them a relief, which in fact proved a most dreadful aggravation of their sufferings. Five camels were selected, on which they were mounted behind the hump, and to this they were obliged to cling by grasping the long hair with both their hands.

“The heaving motions of the camel,” says Mr. Riley, “not unlike that of a small vessel in a heavy sea, were so violent, aided by the back bone, which was as sharp as an oar blade, as soon to excoriate my naked body. The inside of my thighs and legs were also dreadfully chafed, so that the blood dripped from my heels, while the intense heat of the sun, had scorched and blistered our bodies, and the outside of our legs, so that we were covered with sores, and without anything to administer relief. Thus bleeding and smarting under the most excruciating pain, we continued to advance in a south-east direction on a plain, flat, hard surface of sand, gravel and rock, covered with small sharp stones. It seemed as though our bones would be dislocated at every step. Hungry and thirsty, the night came on, and no indication of stopping. The cold night wind began to blow, chilling our blood, which ceased to trickle down our lacerated legs; but although it saved our blood, yet acting on our blistered skins, it increased our pains beyond description. We begged to be permitted to get off; but the women paid no attention to our distress or entreaties, intent only on getting forward. We designedly slipped off the camels when going at a full trot, risking to break our necks by the fall, and tried to excite their compassion, and get a drink of water; but they paid no attention to

our prayers, and drove on the camels as fast as before, whipping us to make us keep up with them¹."

Though not exactly forming part of our subject, we are sure such of our readers as may not have read Mr. Riley's narrative, will learn, with much satisfaction, that he and his companions, though not until they had undergone a continuation of the most dreadful sufferings, were finally released from Arabian cruelty and slavery, by the kindness and liberality of Mr. Willshire, the British vice-consul at Mogodore; and the state to which they had been reduced may be estimated from the fact stated by Mr. Riley, that he who had been a large man, weighing upwards of two hundred and forty pounds, now weighed but ninety, "while, as for my companions, their weight was less than I dare mention, for I apprehend it would not be believed, that the bodies of men, retaining the vital spark, should not weigh forty pounds!" And, indeed, when we remember, that an ordinary European skeleton is estimated at twenty; the thing seems scarcely credible.

Hospitality has long been attached almost proverbially to the Arab name; yet that of the Arabs

¹ The agreement between this and the account of M. de Brissau, who was shipwrecked off Senegal, in 1785, and being made prisoner by the Arabs, was taken across the Desert to Morocco, is so perfect, as to do away with all question of inaccuracy or exaggeration.

of Barbary, is, to say the least of it, much degenerated from the same quality, as said to exist in their eastern brethren. In fact, their whole character has been deteriorated, as has every thing that, however slightly, has come within the reach of Turkish influence; and from being compelled to feed every insolent Janissary who may chance to be passing their way, and meeting with no other return than insult and abuse, they have become careless of assisting the really destitute stranger, or sheltering the homeless wanderer. The farther, however, you get from the settled habitations of man, and the more deeply you penetrate the recesses of the desert, the more does the Arab character resume its primitive simplicity and generosity. When strangers here wish to be sheltered for the night, and find themselves fortunately within view of a douwar, one of the party presents himself on the confines of the encampment, and exclaims in a loud voice—" *Deef Allah,*"—(the guest of God.) The sheikh is immediately apprised of the circumstance; he advances, inquires into the rank and character of the travellers, and if there appear no cause for suspicion, a bowl of milk is brought, which, with some dates, figs, or parched corn, he partakes with the strangers, and from that moment they are sure of his hospitality and protection. He then inquires whether they have tents, which travellers of respectability

generally carry with them. These he points out a place for pitching, and directs his tribe to assist in the operation. The camels and mules are then driven within the circle, their burthens unloaded and piled up, the sheikh standing by, and when all is done, saying, "*Atshie massub alia*,"—(for all this baggage I hold myself accountable.) If the strangers have no tent, one is assigned them, generally the chief's own, and into this no one attempts to enter without a special invitation. The women of the douwar are immediately in motion; water is brought to the strangers to wash their feet; mats and skins spread for their accommodation; a kid, a goat, or a sheep fetched from the flock, and instantly killed; half of this is at once seethed and served up with cuscussowe, spices and savoury herbs, the rest made *kabab*, that is cut into pieces, and roasted, to serve for breakfast the next day. Meantime the travellers, who always, in these countries, go prepared with a certain quantity of nutriment, as knowing the uncertainty of meeting a dwelling, draw forth such additions as their own stores enable them to make to the entertainment; and if amongst these be any tea, it is expected, and at the same time accepted as a favour, if the sheikh, and perhaps a few of the elders of the tribe, be asked to partake of it. The Arabs are uncommonly fond of tea, which they designate as "*elma skoon û el hadra*,"

—(hot water and conversation,) and drink half a dozen cups at least, which they like very sweet. Nothing ingratiates travellers so much with these people as distributing a few lumps of sugar amongst them; sugar, honey, or anything sweet, being looked on by them as emblematical of affection and friendship. The men are also much obliged for a knife, a couple of flints, or a small quantity of English gunpowder, which is much stronger than their own, and is generally reserved for priming their fire-arms: and if you wish to acknowledge the attention of the *lallah*, or lady, in making your cuscussowe particularly good, or savoury, she will return a thousand thanks for a skein of thread, or a large needle, or a pair of scissars, while an ordinary silk handkerchief, says Doctor Shaw, was a present for a princess.

The Arabs, whom you may thus invite, generally sit up extremely late, and continue the conversation until they have had an answer to every question they can think of, and are particularly pleased with any information regarding foreign countries, upon which they not unfrequently make very shrewd comments. They have little regard for time, and will often come to your tent to converse after midnight, if they have thought of any more questions to ask, and are much astonished if your guard informs them that you are undressed and in

bed; an Arab always sleeping in his clothes, and if the weather be warm, generally in the open air. When the Arabs converse amongst themselves, they sit down in a circle, and the person who speaks smoothing a place on the sand with his hand, continues to mark on it, as he goes on with his discourse, the necessary points, accents, and stops. Stopping from time to time to smooth it over again, when it has become full of his strokes. They are so much accustomed to this, that in failure of a sandy spot, an Arab talking with a Christian will take his hand, and with his finger mark on the palm of it, or if that be not permitted, on his own, the strokes necessary for the points of his argument, occasionally giving it a rub over, as though he would erase the marks he had made. The sister of Mr. Tully, our consul at Tripoli, particularly describes this custom in relating a conversation which she had with an Arabian chief.

“ Sheikh Alieff, during this conversation, according to the manner of the Arabs, marked with the fore-finger of his right hand on the palm of his left, all the different stops necessary to be made in the narrations, and expressed the aspirations by an elevation of the head; while he expected his auditors to attend more to the motion of his hands than to the expression of his countenance. His discourse was interesting, facetious, and lively, except when

speaking of war; it then acquired too great a degree of barbarity. With fierceness in his eyes, and wildness in his manner, he dwelt with great delight on the havoc he had made, and he recounted with the greatest satisfaction, the number of chieftains' heads he had sent to the Bashaw."

Once admitted within the douwar, a stranger may be assured of safety for the night. It by no means follows, however, that those who are his hosts to-night may not be his plunderers to-morrow; particularly if he make an indiscreet show of wealth, or if, during his stay, any case of former feud between his tribe, if he be of that country, and the tribe amongst which he is resting, should be discovered. "In such cases," says Poiret, "they lie in wait until he has left the douwar, and then massacre without pity him whom the day before they had treated with the most apparent cordiality and friendship."

But their conduct at times is much more noble, and evinces a self-command, and a regard for their pledged word and the rights of a stranger, which would scarce be found amongst people who claim a higher civilization and a purer religion. In the autumn of 1784, the Arabs in the dominions of the Pasha of Tripoli refused to acknowledge his power, or any longer to pay him tribute. In consequence

of this defiance, a long struggle ensued; and at length, after much slaughter on both sides, a compromise was entered into, by which the Arabs engaged to return to their allegiance, on being secured certain privileges. During the height of the contest, a young Moor, who commanded a party of the Pasha's troops, and who had distinguished himself by his courage, zeal, and address, found himself cut off from his own friends, and pursued by a party of Arabs. By the goodness of his steed, he was enabled to leave them behind; but night came on, and found him wandering in the desert, ignorant of his way, hungry, thirsty, and exhausted. In this situation, he spied a single tent, and advancing to the door, claimed the owner's hospitality. This was promptly granted. The warlike Arab bid his foe enter his tent with confidence, the bread was broken, and the milk shared. Seated on a skin, the Moor received every attention; his supper was of the best of the fatted lamb, his dessert, dates and dried fruit, while, to do honour to her husband's guest, whom, from his horse and arms, they guessed to be of distinction, the wife of the host set before him a dish of *boseen*¹ of her own making.

¹ The dish called bosen, which is much prized by the Arabs, is made in the following manner. Flour and water kneaded together into a paste, are thrown on hot embers, and constantly turned until half baked.

The Arab was the leader of his tribe; and the two hostile chieftains, seated opposite each other, conversed with freedom and friendship, narrating the adventures, the accidents, and the exploits, of themselves and their ancestors, when a sudden paleness overspread the countenance of the host, he abruptly left the table, and in a few minutes a message was brought to his guest, that he felt himself unable from illness to continue the banquet, that he had examined the Moor's horse, and finding it unfit for a fresh day's toil, had ordered another to be prepared for him, that it would await him at the tent door at an early hour, where he should again meet him; meantime, that he had better retire to rest, as it was necessary he should be mounted before day-break next morning. Unable to account for this strange message, the Moor retired to rest. He was roused by an Arab, who informed him, that his morning meal was ready, and that he had barely time to take it before his departure. In silent haste he dispatched it, wondering that none of the family made their appearance. He then strode to the door, where he found his host standing with averted head, holding by the

In this state the cake is removed from the coals, broken up again, kneaded with the addition of milk, oil, and salt, after which it is made into the shape of a pudding, and garnished with *madeed*, which is small bits of mutton, dried and salted in the highest manner.

rein a splendid steed, and supporting the stirrup for him to mount, which is the last courtesy shown by an Arab to a departing friend. No sooner was the Moor settled in his seat, than the Arab, dropping the rein, calmly addressed him: "Last night," said he, "in the exploits of your ancestors, you discovered to me the murderer of my father. There lie the habits in which he was slain; and over them have I often sworn to revenge his death, and to seek the blood of his murderer from sunrise to sunset. The sun has not yet risen; you may therefore leave my tent in safety; for an Arab's hospitality, once afforded, is never violated; but it will not be more than risen, when I pursue you, and from that moment you must look on me as one who has vowed your destruction, wherever or whenever we may meet. There lies the way to your camp; you are mounted on a steed not inferior to the one that stands ready for myself: and on its swiftness surpassing that of mine depends the life of one or both of us." Struck by the magnanimity of his host, and unwilling to raise his arm against one who had treated him so nobly, the Moor followed the only alternative that remained, clapped spurs to his steed, made the best use of the few moments given him, and reached his own army in time to escape the Arab, who pursued him to the very out-works of his camp.

But we must say something of the mode in which an Arab spends his day, and the nature of the food on which he principally subsists. He generally rises before dawn, and his first task is to milk his camels, who have been prevented straying away from his tent during the night, by tying up one of their legs, and fastening it with a noose, while at the same time he removes a net which had been placed so as to prevent the young camels sucking the mothers, which, after the master has drawn a certain portion of milk, they are then permitted to do. The milk is then all thrown into a large wooden bowl, which has generally been in the family for ages; and if there appears to be enough for a good meal for all the family, the master takes a small bowl, of which they have generally two or three, and after washing it with sand, begins to distribute the milk, giving to each grown person an equal share, and to the children in proportion to their size, reserving one share for himself. If there be any remaining, it is put by in a skin, to serve for a drink at noon, and if there be not enough for a good drink all round, water is poured in until it reach a certain mark on the vessel, and then the distribution is made as before. But previous to this meal, the men always perform their devotions, bowing themselves towards the east, and

using sand when water cannot be had for their ablutions.

If it is to be a marching day, the women, while the men are milking the camels, occupy themselves in striking and folding up the tents, which, with their furniture and household stuff, are next placed on the backs of some of the camels, who are made to come near and lie down for that purpose. A leather or skin basket, about four feet wide, is then fastened on the tamest camel, and in this they place the aged people, and also the very young children. When all is ready, the head of the family, having pointed out the direction in which they are to move, takes his gun in his hand, and mounting his own camel, sets off at full trot, and proceeds until he finds some fit place to pitch his tent. He then returns, and conducts the whole party thither, upon which the wife in all haste has the camels unloaded, and turned out to browse, the tent spread, the ground under it cleared of small stones, has mats laid, and her bowls, water-bags, and culinary utensils, placed in order. When one family sets off in this way, they are presently followed by the whole tribe, and "I have frequently seen," says Mr. Riley, "from five hundred to one thousand camels laden in this way, all proceeding in one drove; and I was much astonished to see with what

facility their owners could distinguish and separate them: they would sometimes march together for half a day, then in a few minutes they would separate, and each take his own course, and would generally pitch within a few miles of each other.

The temperance of the Arabs in their diet is truly astonishing. In their long and wearying marches through the desert, a drink of camel's milk is their almost entire support, to which they consider themselves fortunate if they can add a cake made of flour and water, which they bake on the coals, and eat hot, or if fire be not easily obtained, the same flour mixed with water to the consistence of a thin paste or gruel. In summer, a few Barbary figs and a drink of clear water often constitute their entire day's food, and meat and cuscussow are rarely indulged in, except on occasions of some solemn festivity, or on the arrival of a guest. It sometimes too will occur, in crossing the desert, that their grain may be exhausted, and their camels dry, in which case they will kill a camel or a sheep, every bit of which, even to the intestines, is devoured, being divided into small portions, so as to serve many successive days. The water that may be found in the camel's stomach is on such occasions used to dress the flesh, or at times is even drank, though, when it has been in the camel's stomach for any length of time, it has a fetid smell and ex-

tremely disagreeable flavour ; and from their inexperienced method of extracting it, it is generally got mixed with the half-digested food, so as to form a thick paste ¹.

The Arabs prepare their flour in several different ways, of which Captain Lyon enumerates no less than eight. The general plan, however, is, after having ground it in the domestic mill, above described, to wet it with water, and then either rub it between the hands, until it becomes granulated ², something like the Italian preparation, *semolina*, or work it out into thin flat cakes, which being baked on embers, or dried in the sun, are afterwards broken up and made into puddings, with the addition of rancid oil, or butter, salt, long pepper, and other condiments. Signor Pananti takes credit to himself for having taught the Bedoweens how to mix

¹ We attribute this to their inexperienced method of extracting it, inasmuch as in the case of the camel killed by Sir Everard Home, at the College of Surgeons, the water in the second stomach was found to be nearly pure, and contained in cells furnished with a distinct muscular apparatus for preventing the entrance of solid food. The water which had been returned into the first stomach was of course mixed with the food as a necessary preliminary to the process of rumination. See Phil. Trans. vol. xcvi. p. 360.

² To prove the salubrity of one of these preparations, called *el hassua*, which is a sort of barley-gruel ; the Arabs relate that a physician once came from afar into their country, and when he arose in the morning after performing his matins, he seated himself with some of the inhabitants, and asked them with what food they usually broke their fast ? " With el hassua," was the reply. " Then," rejoined the doctor, "*Salum ū alikume*, peace be with you ; for if you eat el hassua in the morning you have no need of a doctor."

their flour, and make it unite, so as to fry in oil, as is done in the Florentine dish, called *migliaccinole*; and he humorously relates the gratitude of the people for this important communication, which they evinced by cutting his name on palm-trees, and calling the dish so prepared *panantelle*, an honour, which, he says, at some future day, may cause him to rank with his illustrious countryman, who gave his name to the *new world*! Meat is prepared for being carried on journeys by being cut into thin slices, hung up in the sun to dry, and afterwards stewed with fat. This is nearly the manner in which, according to Captain Hall, the Peruvians make *sherked* beef. The more ordinary mode of dressing, however, is by boiling, stewing, or baking, which last is performed in an oven, made for the occasion, by digging a hole of sufficient size in the ground, the sides of which are smoothed with plaister, and dried out by burning in it some wood. The meat to be dressed is then put in, often a whole kid or sheep, the top is covered in with some of the same plaister, a trench is dug round it, in which wood is piled up and set fire to; and the baking is complete in three hours. Mr. Jackson has eaten part of a sheep dressed in this way, and pronounced it delicious. The Arabs never eat bread or vegetables with their meat, considering that the flavour of both would be thus spoiled.

They are strict observers of the laws of the Koran, and abstain rigorously from all wine and fermented liquors. They are careful to wash before meals; and eat, as do the Moors, with the right hand, always saying *Bismillah* at the commencement of a meal, and *Alhandillah* when satisfied. Butter melted and kept to a great age is considered very nutritive, and a small quantity is said to restore a person when exhausted by hunger and fatigue. When all food fails in the desert, the sensation of hunger is somewhat appeased by drawing the *hazam* or belt tighter round the waist, and this is done every morning, the buckle being closed in another hole, until they obtain relief, or sink from inanition. This, however, does not very often occur. Mr. Jackson states, that an Arab will go five, six, or even seven days without food of any kind, and afterwards recover, if he only take care not to eat too much when he can procure it. The proper rule in such cases, as recommended by the people themselves, is to commence with half a pint of camel's milk, which probably will be rejected after remaining on the stomach a little time; a second is then taken, which probably remains longer, and affords some nutriment; but with some this also is rejected: a third may be ventured on in about an hour after; which generally is retained, and after that the man goes on well.

From their camels' milk the Arabs make a sort of cheese, turning it by means of certain herbs; and butter is not unusually found at the bottom of their milk-bags, after having been jolted on a camel's back during a long day's march. Mr. Riley suggests that an accident of this kind may probably have originally led to the knowledge, that butter could be extracted from milk; for who, as he observes, would suppose, that this solid yellow substance formed part of a white sweet fluid. Dates must not be omitted when speaking of an Arab's food, as their rich clusters of fruit form perhaps his most nutritious diet, while the juice that flows from the tree-stalk, is well known under the name of *lakaby* as a cooling and delicious drink. It is used fermented by the Moors, when it possesses highly intoxicating qualities; but the Arabs drink it fresh-drawn, in which state it tastes as a delightful vegetable syrup. Water melons they eat in great quantities during the warm season, and find them very refreshing. Like all oriental people, the Arabs are fond of coffee, which they do not make at home, but only drink when in the vicinity of towns, where they can resort to coffee-houses. They also smoke, but not nearly to such an extent as the Moors. From such an extremely temperate mode of living, they are, in general, healthy, strong, of a good constitution, and attain an advanced age. Thus Dan tells

us that they are free from gravel, gout, and other diseases that so sorely oppress us, and that they commonly live to the age of eighty, or even more. Mr. Jackson confirms this, saying that old age is almost their only disease, and sickness and age are convertible terms in their language. Captain Lyon and other travellers add their testimony to the same effect; and Mr. Riley goes so far as to say that he feels fully convinced, “that hundreds and thousands of Arabs, on this vast expanse of desert, actually live to the age of two hundred years of our calendar!” As Mr. Riley seems generally to write with much good faith, we are inclined to attribute the above, which is manifestly an error, to some mistake, such as might easily have arisen from his imperfect knowledge of the Arabic tongue, or from some inaccuracy as to Arabic calculation of time. The following description, however, which he subjoins, would certainly bespeak an extreme old age,—beyond what it falls to our lot to witness.

“There were three people I saw belonging to the tribe in which I was a slave, namely: two old men and one woman, who, from appearance, were much older than any I had ever seen. These men and the woman had lost the hair from their heads, beards, and every part of their bodies; the flesh on them had entirely wasted away, and their skins appeared to be dried and drawn tight over the

sinews and bones, like Egyptian mummies; their eyes were extinct, having totally wasted away in their sockets, the bones of which were only covered by their eye-lids; they had lost the use of all their limbs, and appeared to be deprived of every sense, so that when their breath should be spent, and their entrails extracted, they would, in my opinion, be perfect mummies, without further preparation, as there was not enough of moisture in their bodies to promote corruption. The man's voice was remarkably feeble, squeaking, and hollow." Life preserved on these terms is certainly a boon not calculated to excite envy: it is gratifying to learn, that it has called forth a display, in a very high degree, of the natural affections amongst these simple people,—they pay the greatest attention to their aged relatives, afford them every possible comfort; provide them soft skins to lie on, attend to all their wishes, and in case of a scarcity of provision, allot them a larger share even than the active head of the family reserves for himself.

Considerable courtesy is observed towards one another of these sons of the desert, and their modes of salutation are expressive and graceful. Friends, on meeting, join hands, then kiss each his own, and laying it on his heart, an inclination of the head finishes the ceremony. If very intimate, each kisses the hand of the other, and then follows many in-

quiries about their respective healths, and that of their wives, children, horses, cows, camels, and chickens, but above all of their dogs and cats, for whom particular solicitude is always evinced. The primitive form of "peace be with you" is still preserved, as well as the answer "peace be with thee also." Certain expressions are also carefully avoided in the presence of a superior, or if used always accompanied with the term "ashak," which is understood as conveying an apology. The word "death" is never mentioned or applied to a Mussulman, they merely say "his destiny is closed." "I must not omit to mention," says Captain Lyon, "a particular instance of good breeding which I met with among these people: a man begged me one day to reach him a piece of straw which lay near me, that he might take out of a cup of water a *bird* which had fallen into it. I perceived, however, that it was only a *fly*; and was afterwards informed that they considered it disrespectful to make use of the word *fly* in presence of a superior."

THE END OF VOL. I.

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